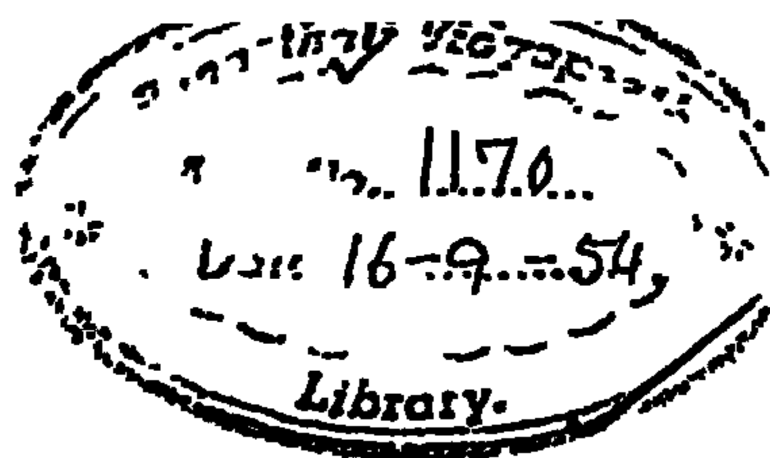


PREFACE.

This publication is earnestly commended to the careful perusal of the friends of Missions, and the subject of it to their prayerful consideration. No encouragement should be withheld from the attempts now made to extinguish among the Christians of India all regard for Caste, and to exclude from the enclosure of the church a system so opposed to the spirit and precepts of our holy religion. Purity of principle and a consistent practice are essential in the Christian church to its internal prosperity, and to the success of its attempts for the conversion of the world. "The righteous shall hold on their way, and they that have clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger." It therefore becomes those who watch over the churches in Heathen lands to be careful that no part of Paganism be fostered or tolerated within them. This duty has become the more difficult in India, because the insidious evils of Caste have been already admitted among Christians, under the sanction of high authority; whilst politicians and governments have been slow to acknowledge the turpitude of a system which has presented at once to the influence of legislation and power vast masses of mankind, with whose interests it has thus been easier to deal, than had they not been arranged under that system. It requires some courage to

denounce that which good men have tolerated, and authorities have lauded. Christian principle has supplied that courage. Distinguished Prelates and zealous Missionaries have united their testimony against Caste, as incompatible with Christianity. Mr. Roberts has collected and arranged their separate and independent opinions; and it now only remains that the Christian public do their duty by practical sympathy with those devoted men, and by supporting and enforcing the views which they have so ably expressed and maintained.

ELIJAH HOOLE.

WESLEYAN MISSION HOUSE, LONDON,
April 14th, 1847.

INTRODUCTION.

The letters and addresses in this volume appear in the exact order of time in which they were written or delivered, excepting those opinions which are recorded in pages 24 and 29 inclusive, as these were taken from various communications sent to the present compiler in the year 1828.

Writers of distinguished eminence have investigated and described Caste as a great political institution of India. They have looked into the extensive divisions, limits, and bearings of this wonderful system. But our attention has been called to this subject, not as *civilians*, not as men of science, but as Christian Missionaries: we have had calmly and closely to examine it, to prove it, and try it, to trace it in its secret or public windings; and not until after many years of patient research have we been able to expose it in its true character. The Commissioners appointed by the Lord Bishop of Madras, have justly remarked, that few people know with what "wariness and astuteness the natives evade unpalatable inquiry into their practices and prejudices."

We have to do with Caste, as it stands *related to Christianity;* we have to prove that it is not a mere *civil* distinction, but emphatically *religious.* It is remarkable that the earliest ecclesiastical document which we have of any consequence *(on this precise point)* dates not further back than March, 1826; for it was Bishop Heber who instituted the inquiry as to the exact bearing of one system on the other. True, there were many who understood the antagonist principle of Caste; for Dr. Carey informed us in 1828, that "*from the beginning of the Mission*" the Baptist Missionaries had opposed *this,* and every other part of Heathenism. But the full and *public* consideration of the whole subject is only of *recent date;* and is for the first time brought before the Christian public, in the present *connected and decided form.*

This Heathen institution decrees, that all who transgress its rules (as true converts to the faith of Christ must do) shall be disinherited, shall be deprived of their patrimony, and driven away as fugitives and vagabonds through the earth; that all the ties of relationship shall be severed; and that henceforth children shall be as fatherless and motherless on the one hand, and parents childless on the other; that to their wives they shall become objects of scorn, and to their children subjects of silent contempt; (for never more are they to utter a father's name;) that they are now the victims of civil and social disabilities, as if already dead; nay, worse, that the manes of those who have kept their Caste are honoured by the living, while these are cursed and consigned to the lowest hell. True philanthropists, and those who desire the Gospel to be *every man's* "law of liberty," will at once perceive that all this is most hostile to Christ; and never till the *lex loci* shall be confirmed by the authorities at home, will the enslaved Hindoos have their rights of civil and religious liberty.

But the subject gains importance by the fact, that Caste has been and *is* in the Church of Christ: to point out where, and how, would be invidious and painful in the extreme. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that *all* have suffered more or less, and that there are Christian Catechists and Schoolmasters who still adhere to this baneful and cruel tyranny.

Under such circumstances, therefore, it cannot be doubted that a topic so important, and treated with so much precision by Prelates, by Missionaries, and others, belonging to *different churches*, will excite the attention of all who feel an interest in the cause of Christ in the East.

Nor do we think we shall be deemed presumptuous, in expecting the countenance of some of the thousands of Clergymen, connected with the two great Societies in the Establishment; especially when they bear in mind the momentous subject, and the sainted names of those who have ably discussed it, and whom they must ever revere as *their* great representatives in the East.

We believe, also, that in asking for the prayerful consideration of Caste, (in its *relation to the Church,)* we shall have the cordial co-op[illegible]ation of thousands of *other* Ministers; that [illegible] ready and cheerful response from those [illegible] unit[illegible] their energies to liberate the

Negro from *his* chains; and that we shall find here a sympathy and an aid, which looks not merely to Senates or to Kings, but to the living God himself.

Referring also to the Office-Bearers of the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, we feel assured that we do not indulge a vain hope, when we look with confidence to them; knowing, from the nature of things, that they will interest themselves; and that they, in all probability, will furnish their Missionaries (especially those who are young) with this desirable compendium of a subject hitherto but very imperfectly understood.

Nor do we forget the churches of America, who will employ their powerful energies to diffuse the principles set forth in these papers; and we have no doubt that this publication will be widely circulated throughout the New World.

Above all, however, we refer this work, in its object, to the Great Head of the church: to Him we turn with humble reverence, and crave his blessing; being fully persuaded that all the influences of men, their wealth, their learning, their eloquence, will fail where God is not. We would remember, and never, never, forget, that it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

JOSEPH ROBERTS.

106, *Armenian-Street, Madras,*
Nov. 10*th*, 1846.

CONTENTS.

CASTE OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

I.

LETTERS FROM THREE PROTESTANT BISHOPS IN INDIA, ON THE SUBJECT OF CASTE.

The following letter, by the amiable and talented Bishop Heber, came to my hands not very long after it was written; but it has since been published in his Works. It was composed when he had been not more than two years and a half in the country, and only ten days before his death; and was in reply to one from the Rev. D. Schrievogel, of Tranquebar, whose views will be found in page 26 of this book.

The Bishop had been misled by a person who had gained considerable influence over him,—a *native*, ordained by himself. But, had the good Prelate lived longer, there can be no doubt, from his great candour and penetration, he would have arrived at very different conclusions.

A LETTER FROM THE LATE BISHOP HEBER, OF CALCUTTA, TO THE REV. D. SCHRIEVOGEL, DATED CHILLUMBRUM, MARCH 21ST, 1826.

Rev. and dear Sir,

I wrote yesterday to Dr. Caemerer, to express my regret at not being able to visit you at Tranquebar. Since that time, having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of distinctions of Caste, and of other customs yet remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as Heathenish and improper, I have been led to wish for some explanation of those customs, and of your reasons for objecting to them, of which the latter, as expressed in those papers, (to deal freely with you,) do not seem to me satisfactory.

With regard to the distinctions of Caste, as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested (a) in desiring separate seats in church; (b) in going up at different times to receive the holy communion; (c) in insisting on their children having different sides of the school; (d) in refusing to eat, drink, or associate with those of a different Caste.

Now it is desirable to know whether these are insisted on as religious, or as merely civil, distinctions; whether as arising from a greater supposed purity and blessedness in the Soodras over the Pariahs; or whether they are not badges of nobility and ancient pedigree, such as those which in Spain, even among the poorest classes, divide the old Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood; and in the United States of North America, entirely exclude Negroes and Mulattoes, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the Whites; also, whether the Christians of high Caste adhere to these distinctions, as supposing that there is any real value in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbours and relations? If these questions are answered in the affirmative, (as they have been very solemnly by the Rev. Christian David, in answer to my repeated inquiries,) I confess that I do not think the evil so great as to be insufferable, or to justify the Ministers of Christ in repelling from the communion those who adhere to them; though it may be that the spirit of pride, from which they flow, should by gentle means be corrected as far as possible. We all know that in Europe, persons of noble birth or great fortune claim and possess precedence in our churches; and I have already observed, that the Whites take the same priority to themselves in America. But there is no reason for this but custom, inasmuch as a gentleman and a beggar are as much equal in God's sight as a Soodra and a Pariah. The reason why the Christian gentleman conforms to these rules is, because, by acting differently, he would lose influence with those of his own degree in society; and a Soodra may say the same thing, and does say it. It seems, then, to me, that this distinction of Castes in church may still be allowed to continue, provided due care is taken to teach our congregations that they are all naturally equal.

With regard to their private meals and social intercourse, it seems to me that we have still less business to interfere. "For meat and drink, destroy not him for whom Christ died." In the schools, indeed, and among the children, taking places, &c., must be arranged, as it appears to me, without regard to Caste; but even here caution should be observed to disgust no man needlessly.

I perceive, you object very strongly to certain ceremonies usual in marriages, such as going in procession through the streets with music, erecting a Pandal, &c. On what grounds of reason or Scripture do you object to these? Are they idolatrous? Are they necessarily or usually attended with uncleanness or indecency? In what respect do they essentially differ from those ancient ceremonies, which are known on the like occasions to have been practised among the Jews, to which both the Prophets and our Saviour make repeated allusions, without ever blaming them; and which, judging from analogy, must have been practised at that very marriage of Cana which our Lord sanctioned by his presence?

Again: it appears, that one of your principal causes of complaint against the Danish Government has been, that they would not sanction the sentence of excommunication pronounced against a person who had dancing girls in his house; and another who had acted some theatrical part. Now here, too, I much want information. Were the dances indecent in themselves? Were the performers persons of notoriously indecent character, prostitutes, or servants of some Heathen temple? Or

did you object to the dancing itself, as unchristian, and a fit ground for excommunication? In like manner, was the acting on a public stage, and for money? Was the dance indecent or immoral; or was it (as from the little which I yet know of Indian customs I am led to suspect) one of those masqued fooleries, in which the common people of Germany and England often indulge at Christmas and harvest-home; and which, though they may sometimes be abused, are not regarded as in themselves criminal, or worthy of ecclesiastical censure?

My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain, when I mention that the question of Caste, and of such practices as these, has been referred to my consideration, both by the Christians and Missionaries of Vepery; and that, in order to gain more light on the subject, a select Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge has been, at my desire, appointed. In the mean time, I am most anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian Minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or suffer any of our converts to go on in practices either anti-christian or immoral; but (I will speak plainly with you as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent Missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Swartz and his companions. God forbid that we should wink at sin; but God forbid also, that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people than St. Paul and the primitive church with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts.

It has occurred to me, that if either you or Dr. Caemerer (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore, my doubts might be the better cleared one way or the other; and other matters might be discussed in a few words of much advantage to the cause of Missions in this country.

I remain, Rev. and dear Sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
(Signed) REGINALD CALCUTTA.

The following letter was deemed to be so important by the Reverend the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, that they published it in the Missionary Notices for July, 1834.

LETTER FROM THE RIGHT REV. DR. DANIEL WILSON, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, ON CASTE.

To the Reverend Brethren the Missionaries in the Diocese of Calcutta, and the flocks gathered by their labours, or intrusted to their care.

Palace, Calcutta, July 5th, 1833.

REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN,

HAVING heard that some usages of an unfavourable nature prevail in certain of the native churches, and more particularly in the southern parts of the Peninsula, I am bound, by the obligations of my sacred office, to deliver to you this my paternal opinion and advice. My

honoured and reverend predecessors in this See, now with God, laboured to abate the inconveniences to which I allude; and I am much relieved in discharging my own share of this duty, by the memorials of their previous admonitions, which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Their abstinence from any official interference ought to have commended their advice to your cheerful acquiescence, and to have superseded the necessity of my own entering upon the subject; but as their forbearance and kindness have failed to produce the desired effect, you will not be surprised if I feel compelled, as the Pastor and Bishop of souls, under Christ our Lord, in this diocese, to prescribe to you what seems to me essential to the preservation of the purity of the Christian faith amongst you.

The unfavourable usages to which I refer arise, as I understand, from the distinction of Castes. These Castes are still retained; customs in the public worship of Almighty God, and even in the approach to the altar of the Lord, are derived from them; the refusal of acts of common humanity often follow; processions at marriages, and other relics of Heathenism, are at times preserved; marks on the countenance are sometimes borne; envy, hatred, pride, alienation of heart are too much engendered; the discipline and subjection of the flock to its Shepherd are frequently violated; combinations to oppose the lawful and devout directions of the Missionaries are formed; in short, under the name of Christianity, half the evils of Paganism are retained.

These various instances of the effects of the one false principle, the retention of Caste, might be multiplied. They differ, no doubt, in different places. In some stations they are slight and few; in others, numerous and dangerous. Many, many native congregations are, as I trust, free from them altogether. Many have nearly accomplished their removal. I speak, therefore, generally, as the reports have reached me. I throw no blame on individuals, whether Ministers or people: it is to the system that my present remarks apply; and it is in love that I proceed to give my decision.

The distinction of Castes, then, must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally; and those who profess to belong to Christ must give this proof of their having really "put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man, and having put on the new man," in Christ Jesus. The Gospel recognises no distinctions such as those of Castes, imposed by a Heathen usage, bearing in some respects a supposed religious obligation, condemning those in the lower ranks to perpetual abasement, placing an immovable barrier against all general advance and improvement in society, cutting asunder the bonds of human fellowship on the one hand, and preventing those of Christian love on the other. Such distinctions, I say, the Gospel does not recognise. On the contrary, it teaches us that God "hath made of one blood all the nations of men." It teaches us that whilst "the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them," it must not be so amongst the followers of Christ: but that "whosoever will be great amongst them is to be their minister; and whosoever will be chief among them is to be their servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

The decision of the Apostle is, accordingly, most express: "There is

neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." For if the strong separation between the holy nation and the Gentiles, which was imposed by God himself, and had subsisted from the first legation of Moses, was abolished, and the wall of division dug down, and all the world placed on one common footing under the Gospel; how much more are Heathen subdivisions, arising from the darkness of an unconverted and idolatrous state, and connected in so many ways with the memorials of polytheism, to be abolished!

Yet more conclusive, if possible, is the holy Apostle's language in another Epistle: "Seeing ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him; where" (in which transition, when this mighty change has taken place) "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free; but Christ is all, and in all." So overwhelming is the flood by which all petty distinctions of nation, caste, privilege, rank, climate, position in civilization are effaced, and one grand distinction substituted,—*that* between those who are renewed after the image of God, and those who remain in the state of fallen nature!

Imagine only the blessed Apostle to visit your churches; suppose him to follow you in your distinctions of Caste, to go with you to the table of the Lord, to observe your domestic and social alienations, to see your funeral and marriage ceremonies, to notice these and other remains of Heathenism hanging upon you, and infecting even what you hold of Christianity, to hear your contemptuous language towards those of inferior Caste to yourselves, to witness your insubordination to your Pastors, and your divisions and disorders;—imagine the holy Apostle, or the blessed and divine Saviour himself, to be personally present, and to mark all this commixture of Gentile abominations with the doctrine of the Gospel, what would they say? Would not the Apostle repeat his language to the Corinthians?—"Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing; I will receive you, and be a Father unto you; and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." And would not the adorable Redeemer say again what he pronounced when on earth?—"He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."

There are two objections, dearly beloved, which may be raised against this statement: the one, that St. Paul "became all things to all men, that by all means he might save some;" the other, that civil distinctions are recognised in the New Testament, and prevail in all Christian nations.

To the first, I answer, that the Apostle did, indeed, for a time, tolerate the Jewish prejudices in favour of the Mosaic law, which had been itself of divine institution, and was not wholly abolished till the destruction of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the Jewish polity; but that this lends no support to a distinction Heathenish in its origin, and inconsistent with the equal privileges to which all are, under the Gospel, admitted. A divine law, introductory to Christianity, though at length superseded by it, and a cruel institution which sprung at first from

idolatry, and is opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, are totally different things. Nor are we to forget, that, even during the brief period that the Jewish law was permitted to retain any force, the Apostle denounced in the strongest manner, and directed the whole Epistle to the Galatians against, the fatal error of trusting to it before God. All the mildness and gentleness of the Apostle, therefore, we desire to imitate, in the wise and gradual instruction of the new convert; but an inveterate evil, spread through large bodies of professed Christians, and going on to evaporate the whole force of the Gospel, we must carefully eradicate.

The other objection is answered in a word. The civil distinctions of rank amongst Christians form no hinderance to the intercourses and offices of charity. There is no impassable barrier. The first noble in the land will enter the abode, and administer to the wants, of the poorest cottager. There is nothing to hinder any one from rising, by industry and good conduct, to the loftiest elevations in society. The shades and gradations of rank are shifting perpetually. Birth condemns no class of men, from generation to generation, to inevitable contempt, debasement, and servitude. The grace of Christ, charity, the church, the public worship of God, the holy communion, various circumstances of life, and occasions of emergency, unite all, poor as well as rich, in one common fold, under one common Shepherd. "The rich and the poor," under the Gospel, "meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all." Distinctions in civil society the Gospel acknowledges and retains only when they are the natural result of differences of talents, industry, piety, station, and success.

The decision, therefore, remains untouched by these objections; in the necessity of making which I am confirmed by two circumstances: the one, that in Bengal no distinction of Castes is known amongst the converts; it is renounced in the very first instance;—the other, that apostasies to Heathenism have been of late but too frequent in the congregations where the distinction is permitted to remain.

In the practical execution, however, of the present award, dear brethren, much wisdom and charity, united with firmness, will be requisite.

1. The catechumens, preparing for baptism, must be informed by you of the Bishop's decision, and must be gently and tenderly advised to submit to it. Of course, the Minister informs the Bishop or Archdeacon a week previously to the intended baptism of each convert, agreeably to the directions given by my honoured predecessor, in his Charge delivered at Madras in November, 1830; and this will afford opportunity for each particular case being well considered.

2. The children of native Christians will, in the next place, not be admitted to the holy communion without this renunciation of Castes: their previous education being directed duly to this, amongst other duties of the Christian religion: no material difficulties will, I trust, arise here.

3. With respect to the adult Christians already admitted to the holy communion, I should recommend that their prejudices and habits be so far consulted as not to insist on an open, direct renunciation of Caste. The execution of the award, in the case of all new converts and communicants, will speedily wear out the practice.

4. In the mean time, it may suffice that overt acts, which spring from the distinction of Castes, be at once and finally discontinued in the church, whether places in the church be concerned, or the manner of approach to the Lord's table, or processions in marriages, or marks on the forehead made with paint or mixtures, or differences of food or dress; whatever be the overt acts, they must, in the church, and, so far as the influence of Ministers goes, be at once abandoned.

5. Subjection in all lawful things to the Ministers and Pastors set over them, must further accompany this obedience to the Gospel. The resistance to due discipline, the tumults, the slanders, the spirit of insubordination, the discontent, of which I hear such painful tidings, must be renounced; and the temper of evangelical piety and obedience, according to the word of Christ, must be cultivated.

6. The only effectual means, dear brethren, Missionaries and Pastors of the native congregations, of restoring the simplicity and purity of the Gospel, is to preach and live yourselves more fully according to the grace of the New Testament. The union of scriptural doctrine with holy consistency of conduct, is the secret of revivals of the decayed piety of churches. You will observe, that when the Apostles depress and condemn inferior and petty distinctions and grounds of separation, they do it by exalting the gigantic blessings of salvation, by declaring that they who have been baptized into Jesus Christ have "put on Christ;" by asserting, that if "any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;" by pronouncing, that "Christ is all in all" to those who "believe in his name."

7. Let us do the same. The holiness of God's law, the evil of sin, the fall of man; his responsibility, his helplessness, his state of condemnation before God; these are the topics which prepare for the Gospel of Christ. Repentance is thus wrought, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, in the heart. Then the glory of Christ begins to break out upon the awakened and contrite soul. The sun shines not with more clearness, when the whole heaven is illustrated and gilded with his beams, than the Sun of Righteousness pours his light upon the unveiled mind. This leads to pardon, justification, acceptance, adoption, peace of conscience, hope of heaven. Then regeneration and progressive sanctification have their due course. Holiness is the fruit of faith, and follows after justification. The inhabitation of the Spirit consecrates every Christian a temple of God. Good works in all the branches of newness of life are thus produced, even as the rich fruit by the tree, enabling us to discern its real nature and value. Prayer, the worship of God, the divine authority of the Sabbath, the sacraments, the apostolical order and discipline of the church, the obedience due to Pastors, the general duties springing from the communion of saints, with preparation for death, judgment, and eternity, close the main topics of evangelical doctrine.

8. When these are enforced with the tenderness and boldness which become the Minister of Christ, when they are accompanied with private visits, exhortations, and prayers, they are bound upon the conscience by the consistent walk of him who delivers them; the blessing of the Holy Spirit gives efficacy to the instructions; men are awakened, born anew, roused, brought from the darkness of Heathenism unto the light of the Gospel, and "from the power of Satan unto God." They burst

the thraldom of a natural state. Friends, family ties, privileges, Caste, distinctions, fall like Dagon, before the Truth, of which the ark of old was the symbol. The convert rejoices to "count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord." He crucifies the whole body of sin; he presents his body "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is his reasonable service."

In this way, beloved brethren, will the God of all grace "recover your decayed churches." Thus will "the power of godliness" revisit you. Thus will apostasies cease, and the weak be confirmed, "and built up on their most holy faith."

Full of love to you all is the heart which dictates these lines. I long to be able myself to visit you, and see the effects of this my pastoral letter upon you. Think me not too harsh, severe, or rigid. God knows the tenderness with which I would cherish you, as a nurse cherisheth her children. It is that very tenderness which induces me to grieve you for a moment, that you may attain everlasting consolations. Faithless is the shepherd, who sees the wolf coming, and fleeth and leaveth the sheep. So would be the Bishop, who, hearing of the enemy of souls ravaging amongst you, shunned, from a false delicacy, to warn you of the danger. Rather, brethren, both Ministers and people, I trust that my God will give an entrance to his word, by however weak and unworthy an instrument, into your hearts; rather, I hope you will be ready, before you read these lines, "to put away from you" these practices which weaken your strength, and dishonour the "holy name wherewith you are called." "Yes," let each one say, "it is the voice of the good Shepherd that we hear; we will follow the call; we will rejoice to renounce for Christ's sake our dearest objects of affection; we will offer our Isaac upon the altar; we will give up ourselves without reserve, not only in these instances, but in every other, to Him who hath 'lived, and died, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.'"

To the grace of this adorable Saviour I commend you, and am

Your faithful brother,

(Signed) DANIEL CALCUTTA.

THE next letter is from the devout Bishop Corrie. It is dated February 4th, 1836, and appeared in the Madras "Christian Intelligencer," having been addressed to a native Catechist.

DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR letter of the 30th January found me here to-day. I am sorry to find you have not attended to the answers which have been so often given to the points you stand upon. Caste is not as rank in society in any sense. You see what rank is in the army. An officer may rise from the rank of Ensign to that of Commander-in-chief; a private soldier may rise to the rank of officer, and many private soldiers do. A civil servant serves at first as a writer, and may be selected from any class of society, and may one day (as Mr. Lushington) become Governor. In any of these ranks a man may take food, if occasion require, from an inferior; or he may assist with food and

bodily service, if need be, some poor or diseased creature, but loses no rank by so doing.

How different is all this from Caste, which is always one! As to the Lord's supper, no one who receives it otherwise than with a true penitent heart on account of his sins, and with a lively faith in the Lord Jesus, &c., the Saviour of sinners, can be benefited by receiving it. But those who refuse to receive the Lord's supper, because an inferior has first partaken of it, refuse the Saviour, because he has become the Saviour of a poor brother first.

Thus Caste sets itself up as a judge of our Saviour himself. His command is, "Condescend to men of low Caste. Esteem others better than yourself." "No," says Caste, "do not commune with low men, consider yourself of high estimation. Touch not, taste not, handle not." Thus Caste condemns the Saviour. Believe me, that in no other part of the world do any who call themselves Christians hold such destructive opinions. These destroy the soul by nourishing pride and self-dependence. In this way also you make the Heathen believe that their distinctions are founded in truth and righteousness. "If Christians," they argue, "hold these distinctions, they must be good."

No evil can come to Merasdars from obeying the Gospel entirely. They pay the same tax to Government, whether they have Caste or no Caste. There are so many who profess Christianity, that no society worth keeping is lost. In short, it is only unacquaintance with the true spirit of Christianity which upholds this fatal delusion.

May God the Holy Spirit enlighten your mind, and lead you in the light of everlasting life!

I pray for you.

Your sincere friend,

DANIEL MADRAS.

To T. A. Nyana-prasadem.

II.

CASTE.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE WESLEYAN MISSION CHAPEL, MADRAS, AT THE MONTHLY MISSIONARY PRAYER-MEETING, JANUARY 4TH, 1844, BEFORE THE MISSIONARIES OF THE DIFFERENT CHURCHES, &c.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH ROBERTS,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AUTHOR OF "ORIENTAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES," &c., &c.

IN consequence of *very strong opinions recently* put forth in a Madras publication respecting Caste in the church, and the sentiments still entertained by some Christians as to its character and toleration; the determined adherence of numerous native members to this system, in the various duties of life; and the solemn fact, that, next to the love of sin, Caste is the great barrier in India betwixt the Pagans and Christ; I have thought it advisable to call your attention to this difficult and painful subject; and I do this the more readily, because I possess the opinions of thirty-three Missionaries, collected by myself several years ago. For it appears to me that such decided protests, against a measure fraught with so much dissension and dereliction of duty, may be profitable to those who are in doubts, and serve to confirm us in our principles, which we believe to be in harmony with the word of God.

To bring my plan more distinctly before your view, I purpose, First, to consider the probable origin of Caste; Secondly, its true spirit,—it is *religious* and civil; Thirdly, its existence and character amongst the Native Christians; Fourthly, the reasons which induced me, in 1828, to refer to my reverend brethren; and, Lastly, the extracts from their several protests.

I. As to the origin of Caste, we are sometimes taken to the fabulous stories and numerous conceits of priests and others; declaring that the Brahmins came from the mouth of the deity, to read, to teach, to pray; that the Cshetriyas were from his arms, to fight, and govern; that the Vaisyas

were from the belly, to be employed in agriculture, and trade, and to furnish the necessaries of life; that the Sudras were from the feet, to labour, to serve, and travel; so that the divine sanction is here clearly asserted for the various divisions of men, leading the poor Hindus to conclude, that as they were *thus* created, so they must ever remain. We think, however, that this wonderful institution of India may be traced to a more probable source, merging in the wisdom and craft of man; as is seen in the account of its rise, in the Kings Solen, Searen, and Pandian, who were ably assisted by Katche-veerappen, the counsellor of the latter, to carry out its various ramifications amongst the people. At all events, there is something more rational in this relation than the former.

We are not, however, convinced that *all* the tyrannical notions ascribed to the human inventors of this classification of men can be received as correct; for we think it probable that, in the first instance, there was strong reference to the full, the due, and constant provision for all kinds of artizans and labourers; so that, in every emergency, there might be a supply of the required workmen, to meet the various wants of the realm. And we think it likely there would be another, though perhaps sequent, thought; namely, that, by fixing each person in his manual profession, there would be greater perfection secured in the several works of art; for the children, not being allowed to adopt any other calling, would naturally, from the first dawning of thought, associate themselves with their fathers' pursuits, and try to emulate each other in gaining the greatest reward. Just so the parents themselves would, on the due developement in their offspring of muscle and mind, take advantage of their aid, and in early life accustom them to use those implements or tools, which were never to be laid aside but by sickness or the grave. Nor was it forgotten to assign a fixed *locality* to those who followed a given occupation; so that, by sending to their quarters, some might always be found to supply the public need, and also secure greater peace amongst themselves. For if they had been allowed to reside there as rivals in rank, however slight the difference might be, still there would have been interminable broils, which never could have been removed or allayed except by the sovereign power. It is also probable, the originators of this arrangement would look forward to the

perpetuity of each trade, so that they might feel assured that those most needful members of the state would never become extinct. For in such a rude age it is not to be supposed that men understood the relative importance of their different callings, and therefore they might be tempted to leave their own for others, which were more respectable, lucrative, or easy. Then, again, at that period, and in that reign, there could scarcely have been those known motives for competition, as when men are perfectly free; and when all have an equal opportunity for making the best of their skill and power, and have the certainty of being allowed to retain what they justly acquire; leading us also to another supposition, that it was not then perceived that any overplus in the workmen or the produce would compel men, by an unseen, unwritten law, to adopt other modes of living; and therefore the legislators determined to place each person in that caste and calling in which he and his posterity should ever remain.

Looking at the *present* numerical state of the several Castes, in their ratio to each other, we cannot help seeing an argument for the supposed *original* number needed for every trade; because, in the *first* aggregates, reference would be made to the various duties of life, and to the *required* supplies. For it is absurd to suppose there would be the same proportion of men assigned to those callings where few hands were needed, as to such where the demand was the greatest: for instance, the rulers would not in the beginning appoint as many to be barbers, as cultivators; or potters, as carpenters and masons. Hence we see, at this distant period, the quota bears an exact relation to what we believe to have been the case in ancient times, as those occupations least in request would have the fewest workmen: so they show at this date how nature has maintained the original order.

But though we may give credit to the early sovereigns and others, for having had a reference to the mechanical and agricultural wants of the kingdom, in their arrangement of Castes and professions, yet we cannot persuade ourselves that men of such sagacity would not also perceive, that, in the rival combinations and claims, materials would be formed for a more easy governing of the whole, as they would keep each other in abeyance, and thus be the willing instruments of the monarch's will. We may rely upon it, the subjugation of one caste to another was looked upon as congenial to the public

peace; for the question was not in that day, whether the pacific principle should be founded upon equal civil and religious privileges, but on the fictitious, the unjust claims of family and birth; apart from all those reasons which alone can entitle men in civilized and Christian lands to the pre-eminence and distinctions which confer station, wealth, and fame. The oriental rulers resolved, if possible, to keep their subjects, like statues from the chisel of the sculptor, fixed in their own positions; they made fetters for the body, mind, and spirit, showing they preferred the submission of the slave to the obedience of the free; and in this way have they crippled the genius of the people, carving and shaping it to the directions and dimensions of known laws; so that the beautiful and useful productions which spring from the minds of free men, never adorn and bless these lands.

The sciences, the learning, the professions, the callings, the implements, and instruments of antiquity, are deemed all that men require, producing that fixedness of intellect so common amongst the Hindus, making it like something from a mould, or as wax from the seal, retaining faithfully its first impression.

II. Would, however, that we could stop here! But we must proceed to examine this enormous evil, not only in its hold on the body and its condition, the mind and its attainments, but with reference to its presumptuous claims on the *soul*,— over which God alone can exercise the prerogative to prescribe laws. It is true that some argue, or rather *assert*, that Caste is merely or principally civil in its requirements; and the excellent Bishop Heber wished to know whether the people insisted on it as a religious or as merely a civil distinction; for it appears there were those who wished to possess his mind with the latter idea, whereas nothing can be more evident than that this baneful domination is, if possible, far more religious than civil in its genuine character and results, holding in a giant's grasp the devotions of its victims, as to objects to be worshipped, as to times, localities, and modes; showing most clearly that it demands rule over the immortal part, which God only has the right to govern. And that we may not be accused of putting forth asseverations only, we proceed to the proof, by challenging successful contradiction, as to the alleged *moral* impurity of all contact with the Parriah, involving, should it unhappily take place, religious ceremonies to make the tainted clean.

We ask, with confidence in a negative to our question, What Brahmin would perform sacred rites for the Parriah, for those of the reprobate race? No one would presume to do this in the face of penalties, which refer to both worlds. No, no; the *religious* ban is fixed upon these doomed ones, never to be removed, except by some power foreign to its own creation.

We know that the higher Castes, including also *some* of the Soodras, may at certain times enter the temples, and there perform what they consider to be their most potent devotions, and present their surest offerings; for they feel, by their proximity to the gods, in most familiar intercourse with them; but will the Parriah, or millions of others in the low Castes, dare to go into such a place? O no! that step would be at the peril of their lives; and to such a degree is the force of this moral proscription carried, that their gifts cannot be received or touched, by consecrated hands, except they consist of silver or gold; for should any thing in the form of these precious metals be there, then the holy Brahmin may take it without dismay.

Nay, these despised ones may *not* erect sacred edifices to the gods of the high Castes; but in their own degraded quarters they may build small places to *devils*,—such as Ayennar, to Poodary, Marry Amman, and Durga; and they may have *one of their own number who is not a priest* to officiate for them. But they must not even enter there; no, not into that which they themselves have made, and devoted to demons; and their offerings must be prepared in the rear of the building, showing to us how perfect, how binding is this system for the soul!

And the Gentoo laws decide, that, should a man of the Sudras or other low Castes "read the Shasters to a Brahmin or a Vaisyan, the magistrate shall heat some bitter oil, and pour it into the offender's mouth; and should he even *listen* to the Vedas, then the oil shall be heated as before, and poured into his ears, and arzees and wax shall be melted together, and the orifice of his ear shall be stopped up,"* so that this *spiritual* criminal, who has cheated the divine Brahmin, who has intruded into the holy and *only* succession from the gods, is to have his throat and ears scalded with boiling oil; and if he hear the Shasters, then the orifice must be filled up with cement, to produce deafness, so that

* Halhed, p. 206.

he may never again defile such sacred themes, exhibiting to us what is the true character of religious intolerance, whether in Christian or in pagan lands.

But such is the sanctity of the Brahmin, who *assuredly* descended from the gods, and such is the desecrating character of the Sudras, that should the latter by accident or design sit down on the carpet of the former, and thus contaminate the materials, then "the magistrate, having thrust a hot iron into his person and branded him, shall banish him the kingdom," or, *(to be more lenient,)* "shall cut off the offending part;"* a law sufficiently savage to indicate its origin. For whenever the sanctions of religion are pressed into the service of crime, there is a fearful increase of ferocity, from an idea of doing God service by extinguishing evil, and asserting his claims, whether the offence may have arisen from polluting those places dedicated to His service, or from defiling the consecrated persons who are His *sole* agents to men. It matters not whether the principle be found in the creed of the Brahmin or of the Pontiff, it is an insult to God, and an oppression of man.

But see again this lordly, this predominant claim in the following law: "If a Brahmin hath purchased a Sudra, or even if he hath *not* purchased him, he may cause him to perform service."† Nor can it ever be allowed, for a low Caste to go near the house of a priest; for the approximation or touch would infect the pure habitation, so that none but the holy hands of the occupiers could by numerous ceremonies remove the evil. Yes, and should any of the discarded race *hear* the voice of the divine personage, who came from the gods, when at his prayers, the spotless mind would be infected;—a truth which none but infidels or low Castes can deny. Nay, more, should the place be *seen* where the food is prepared, it would instantly become impure, and another locality must be found. And when the last offices have to be performed for the corpse of a priest, though the Parriahs are the universal sextons with reference to the grave or the funeral pile, yet here, such is the holiness of the dead body, they must not be employed, lest the spirit should be injured, ("for it is still in its house,") and men of the same order *only* can attend to the sacred obsequies.

* Halhed, p. 234. † Idem, p. 162.

I might go on multiplying instances to show, that the low Castes are believed to be *religiously* impure, and that they by contact, or even through the eyes and the ears, offend the immaculate Brahmin, or temple, or ceremony; but I hope sufficient has been advanced to prove, that Caste is not merely a political or social distinction, as many have strangely declared, but that it is, in the view of the Hindu, most *sacred* in its claims; but in ours, most unjust in its laws, and cruel in its punishments.

And now I proceed to look at some of its *civil* enactments, which go to oppress those who are under the ban; for the low Castes cannot demand the same laws, the *same* equality of justice as others:—proving that such ordinances could not emanate from God; for He deals with men, not in reference to their rank, but their sins: never allowing mortals to claim any immunity, but with impartial justice treats alike the sovereign or the slave. And in consequence of the irrespective character of the demands of Deity, without any reference to position in life, we see good reason to believe them to be divine; for when *men* have had to legislate for their fellows, *apart* from the scriptural code, we always meet with something to assert privilege, some exclusive charter, exempting those who have the franchise from the same degree or kind of punishment, reminding us of the declaration of Solon of Greece, who said, "Laws are like cobwebs that entangle the weak, but are broken through by the strong;" showing that though there had not been statutes in favour of the great, yet they would not be subject to the same rule. And Caste evinces this crying injustice, by treating men, not with reference to their equality in moral responsibility to the law, but with regard to their distinctions in society, making class, instead of crime, the regulator of chastisement. That these observations are true, and according to the legal decrees of the Hindus, a few extracts will fully prove.

"If a man of superior Caste to another should seize and bind him, and should set his foot on him, the magistrate shall fine him 300 puns of couries; but if a man of superior Caste to another should seize and bind him, and should set his foot on him, the magistrate shall fine him fifty puns of couries;" * thus asserting that the crime of the inferior bears a *ratio of six times* the magnitude to the former, though the offence in both had precisely the same character.

* Halhed, p. 227.

"If a man of inferior Caste to another should throw upon his body dust, sand, or clay, or cow-dung, or any thing of the same kind, or strike him with his hand or foot, then the magistrate shall fine him thirty puns of couries. But if a man of superior Caste should throw upon his body dust, or sand, or clay, or cow-dung, or any thing of the same kind, or strike him with his hand, or foot, the magistrate shall fine him five puns of couries:" * teaching that the crime of the former is in criminality six degrees greater than the latter, though in nature they were just the same.

"If a man of inferior Caste to another cast upon his body tears or phlegm, or the paring of the nails, or the gum of his eyes, or the wax of his ears, or spittle, or the refuse of his victuals, the magistrate shall fine him one hundred puns of couries. But if a man of superior Caste to another should cast upon his body tears or phlegm, or the paring of the nails, or the gum of his eyes, or the wax of his ears, or spittle, or the refuse of his victuals, the magistrate shall fine him twenty puns of couries;" † indicating five times the turpitude in the man of low degree.

"If a man of inferior Caste to another is prepared to assault him with a stone, or with a piece of iron or wood, the magistrate shall fine him 750 puns of couries. But if a man of superior Caste to another is prepared to assault him with a stone, or with a piece of iron or wood, the magistrate shall fine him 125 puns of couries;" ‡ directing that a man of the lower orders shall be merced for the same transgression six times more than the former.

"If a man of inferior Caste to another, who is well skilled in any profession, should say to him, by way of setting forth his own excellence, 'You have in fact no skill whatever;' in that case the magistrate shall fine him 400 puns of couries. But if a man of superior Caste to another, well skilled in any profession, should say to him, by way of setting forth his own excellence, 'You have no skill whatever;' in that case the magistrate shall fine him 100 puns of couries." Thus the criminality of him who is of lower grade in society, is considered to be four degrees greater than that of the person of the privileged order.

"Nay, should one of the subordinate Caste have the presumption to walk by the side of a superior, or sit, or sleep on the same carpet, "the magistrate shall take a fine from him, according to the extent of his ability;" so that the greater his property, the greater will be the mulct for his boldness, giving a license to the arbitrator, which will not be refused.

Nor can any of these proscribed creatures, by *right*, enter a palankeen, they cannot dress except in a particular way, wearing the cloth *above* the knee, and the females having their bosoms uncovered. They must all walk with lowly step, when near superiors, and put their hands together as in adoration when they speak, and keep at a respectful distance. Though dying of thirst, they must not draw water from the wells or tanks of the other orders: they cannot have schools; "they were born in ignorance and impurity," and so they must die.

But I might go on for pages, with extracts and details, to illustrate this most flagrant system. I might offend the ear

* Halhed, p. 218. † P. 220. ‡ Pp. 224, 233, 231.

of the Christian with the grossest quotations from their laws, all dreadfully indicative of the low state of public morals, and of the same kind of preferences; but I will not desecrate this place, I will not insult the virtuous mind, but pass on, leaving you to give your own verdict, and say, whether you know any thing like this

"Chain, of hellish strength,
Binding the mortal,
Mental, deathless, man."

I know, where our laws have force, there is *some* amelioration; but it must be confessed that the British Government has (perhaps without intention) fostered this baneful domination, in the dispensing of its numerous offices; for in the thousands of situations filled by natives, we seldom or ever find the Parriah, or the *low Caste man*. No, no, whatever may be his talents or virtues, he must not pollute such a place,—the Tamil managers will see to that; and though the robber and the murderer under our sway, whatever be his Caste, will meet with the same law; yet let civil offences be the subject of decision, with reference to the infringement of Caste, let the inferior claim his equality in looks, expressions, actions, let him touch him of purer blood, let him by accident or design defile some locality, and will that not be an element of thought in the sentence of the magistrate? No doubt it will: he cannot avoid it.

Caste is as impolitic as it is unjust; it keeps up, more than any other thing, the want of cordiality betwixt the rulers and the ruled; it feeds the evil, the vain prejudices of the people; it cherishes nationalities so exclusive, so abhorrent, in the feelings of the high Caste man, that he deems all of Christian birth as most impure, most loathsome in his sight; and were it not for gain or fame, never, never would he associate with the white Parriah of a foreign realm.

III. And now I turn to Caste, as it has been allowed, and is still held, by numerous Christians; and ask, Can any thing noble, generous, or good come from such a source? As well might we expect to gather "grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles," or, to vary the words of a poet, inquire,—

"Honey from silk-worms, who can gather?
Or silk from the yellow bee?
And flowers may live in wintry weather,
Sooner than Christ in thee."

Yet how many professing to be members of the church of Christ insist on the retention of this as a privilege and a right, telling us and others, it is a mere *civil* distinction analogous to rank and birth in other lands! But we shall soon see how well they have attempted to carry out the malevolent principles we have been looking at; and shall thus enable candid and Christian men to judge for themselves, whether an institution so baneful in its nature can be adopted by the followers of Christ Jesus.

The hideous features of the system under Paganism are scarcely softened by Christianity; for it is here also *sacred* as well as *civil*. At Cannangoody, near Tanjore, there is a church for Parriahs, and at less than half a mile distance, another for the high Castes, each having separate catechists, who cannot interchange services; and a Missionary having officiated at the high Caste sanctuary, was afterwards requested to proceed to the other by the despised worshippers. Whence is this derived? Clearly from what we have been investigating, and kept up by similar motives,—to prevent the great moral contagion!

See, again, in all the Churches, till the decided Bishop Wilson interfered, they had distinct places for the Parriahs and others. They were never allowed to pollute the holy locality of the privileged orders, though they might be superior to them in learning, wealth, and virtue; and there they crouched in the prescribed quarter, bowing before that God and Saviour, who "hath made of one blood all the nations of men," with whom "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all."

Nay, worse than this, in one place there were two sacramental cups, one for the high, the other for the low; and when a good and learned Clergyman endeavoured to remove one of them, these "Caste Christians" declared, if accomplished they would not again partake of the ordinance. See here how they evinced their hostility against the Spirit of Jesus! they would divide Christ even in his most affecting ordinance, that which more than any thing else shows forth his love for wretched man. And surely nothing but the idea taken from the old institution could have created such rampant intolerance as this.

Though the above instance is the only one to my *know-*

ledge, where there has been *such* a manifestation of the principle, yet, in nearly all cases, there has been a distinction in approaching the table of the Lord; for those semi-Heathens who retained their *privilege (!)* invariably went first; and if any, *not* of their degree, happened to mix amongst them, kneeling around the place, such was the character of their piety, they would instantly arise and leave, because one of the fouler sort had mingled with them, showing forth the rank, the feculent source of their disdain.

The fact is, we presume, beyond all contradiction, that the catechists of Caste will not, if possible, reside near their brethren of the discarded race, for fear of being made impure. And this was exemplified not very long ago, in a Tanjore native Missionary, who started insuperable difficulties to his residence among the people of his charge, lest he should be polluted, and actually preferred remaining amongst the *Heathen*.*

This virulent spirit was displayed on another occasion by a catechist, who was requested, by my friend the Rev. Mr. Haubroe, to receive a moonshee into his house, until he could procure another for him; but because the man had taken food under the roof of the European Pastor, he was considered to have lost Caste, in fact to have become a Parriah, though he had formerly been a Guroo of great distinction among the Heathen. Thus the person who had left all for Christ, and who had enjoyed so much consideration amongst his own people, was now rejected by a native teacher, who actually wrote a petition to a senior Minister, to be protected against *such* an indignity!

The high Caste catechists do not, will not, go into the houses of the Parriah Christians; and, when they visit them, they stand outside, and talk at a distance. It will not avail for any to assert, that there have been some exceptions, that such men *have* gone inside on *special* occasions. We maintain that the general rule is not to do it; and I know a native Minister, who, though *so liberal* as to allow his Parriah catechist to enter his house, to report what he has done, will *never* permit him to be seated in his presence.

Neither will the Caste Christians, who are out of office, go into the houses of inferiors in the church; and thus do they acknowledge the validity of that which comes from Pagan

* Madras Missionary Register.

authority. And as they will not associate with others in *their* houses, neither will they allow them to come into their own; and should a poor thirsty Parriah follower of the Lord Jesus apply to one of the *same creed*, but of a different Caste, he will have to remain in the street, and the water will be poured into his hands, from which he must drink; but on no account will he be permitted to touch the vessel, as that would assuredly make it impure. How well, therefore, has Bishop Wilson said of this atrocity, it cuts "asunder the bonds of human friendship on the one hand, and prevents those of Christian love on the other!"

Yes, and Bishop Heber himself, at an early period of his ministry, declared that Caste is "*a system which tends, more than any thing else the devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder.*" *

To such an extent do the native Christians carry their ridiculous and sinful prejudices, they will not allow the brother of low degree to *see* the place, or the utensils of cooking, nor will they be seen by such unclean creatures when they take their food; proving most strongly, that they retain the great antagonist principles of the old dispensation.

As for marriages betwixt the parties thus belonging to one church, and professedly to one Saviour, such a thing has scarcely ever been heard of. For it matters not what may be the pretensions, the acquirements, the piety, or even the predilections and suitability of the sexes; if one should belong to the inferior grade, the marriage must never take place; for Caste gives its veto in *this* as in other cases, and *must* prevail.

But it would occupy too much time to trace this subtle foe in all its windings; and we hope sufficient has been said to expose its true character, both amongst the Heathen and pseudo-Christians. That the early Missionaries understood its nature, we can scarcely doubt; but they hoped to increase the respectability of the church by allowing it, and probably had the expectation of one day being able to expurge it from the members. They had, however, given admission to an *evil spirit*, not so soon to be ejected: hence we see, that though it has in many places been driven from religious ordinances, it clings tenaciously to all it can grasp and still call its own; and never, never will it quit its hold till a more powerful prin-

* Works, vol. iii. p. 355.

ciple shall be allowed to occupy its place; a principle which owns heaven as its origin and its end, and which alone can triumph over this master-piece of Satan and of man.

Had the first messengers of the Cross not tampered with this system, had they avoided the invitation to come into the Christian fold and retain Caste, we believe the church would have been much purer, happier, and more effective in the world. For to promise that the Heathen distinction should not be injured, gave the people to see that Christianity in *this respect* was little better than their own institutions: and therefore it would lead them rather to despise, than approve, that which they knew must be contrary to the word of God, if they had read or heard it.

Amongst the Pagans themselves, we believe, there is no obstacle (next to the love of sin) so formidable to the reception of Christianity as *Caste*. They may give up their idols, cease to be seen in or near the temples, they may forsake all Heathen ceremonies, and the marks of idolatry, may refuse all support to any of its votaries, they may read the Scriptures, (as many do,) they may regularly engage in private devotion in the name of Jesus Christ, they may come to the house of God, may enter the church, and receive its sacraments, and do many other things; yet *this system, this institution*, they will not surrender. Caste is the great curse of India, both in things sacred and profane; and never, until its blighting influence shall be destroyed, will the people be free to enjoy civil and religious privileges; and therefore those who set themselves in array against it, in all or any of its relations, are conferring a boon which looks to both worlds; they are contributing towards an emancipation, not inferior to that of the Negro, who so long in vain lifted up his chains to Britain, and inquired, "Am I not a man and a brother?"

IV. But I proceed to notice the reasons which induced me in 1828 to refer to my reverend brethren; and here it appears proper to say, that in North Ceylon we had suffered much from the retention of this monstrous evil in the church, and were compelled to bow down to this vassalage, or assert the purity, the dignity, the benevolence of the Gospel of Christ. For some would not take the sacrament at the same time, place, and mode, for fear of impurity; they would not sit together on the same bench, they retained many Heathen *customs* (as do those of India) both with reference to *funerals*,

marriages, and all the affairs of life. I thought it right therefore to appeal to the different Missionaries, to know their views; and though in the first instance I acted on my own responsibility, I was subsequently requested, by several devoted men in the sacred office, belonging to different churches, to pursue the subject, as appears from the following minutes written at the time by a beloved Clergyman who is now no more.

Batticotta, August 14th, 1828. Resolved, that Brother Roberts be requested respectfully to solicit the opinions of his brethren in the south of the Island (Ceylon) on the subject of Caste and Heathenish customs, with reference to Native Christians.

SECOND EXTRACT.

Resolved, that Brother Roberts be requested to forward to Dr. Carey, to be submitted to the Archdeacon of Calcutta, (Corrie,) the views which he has obtained on the subject of Caste from Missionaries of other districts.

In accordance with the above recommendation, I did so write to the venerable Carey, and received a decided and valuable reply, which will shortly be read to you. He says, *"I waited on Archdeacon Corrie with your letters, nearly a month ago, when he told me he would write his sentiments, and send them to me; this he has not yet done." The papers were, however, kept amongst the ecclesiastical records of Calcutta, as the excellent Bishop Turner, on his visit to Jaffna, told me he had read them; and fully approved of what we had done; adding an expression of his deep concern at the fact of there being two sacramental cups at T., and declaring, at the same time, his resolution that his face should never be seen at the place until one of them was removed!*

And now, before I call your attention to the testimonies of the Missionaries, I must submit to your notice the rules, or prohibitions, sent to each brother, on which his opinion was requested.

I. All attention to Caste, so as to exclude any person from religious ordinances,—at the *same time, place,* and *mode,*—such as by sitting *together* in the house of God, or approaching the Lord's table.*

* At the time of writing this, I erroneously thought it would, if attended to, annul the evil in civil as well as religious duties.

II. The observance of any Heathenish ceremony,—whether as it respects marriage, the birth of a child, death, merchandise, or any other circumstance whatever.

III. The regarding lucky or unlucky days in reference to a journey, the transaction of business, or any other purpose.

IV. To avoid paying respect or reverence, in thought, word, or deed, to any of the gods of the Heathen.

V. Any attention to augury or omens, whether arising from dreams, animals, birds, or any other creature or circumstance.

VI. The using or wearing of charms.

VII. The consulting of soothsayers.

VIII. Attending Heathen or Roman Catholic ceremonies, or contributing to their support.

IX. Polygamy; or divorce, except for adultery.

X. Unlawful contracts, or bribery.

V. And now, lastly, I come to the extracts. The first which I shall read, is by two Church Missionaries; one of whom, my beloved friend, the Rev. JOSEPH KNIGHT, has gone to his rest:—

Having carefully examined the above prohibitions, we are fully of opinion, that, in order to the establishment of Christianity and the progress of true piety among the Natives of India, they are in substance absolutely necessary; and that every Christian Missionary or Teacher should enjoin and enforce their practice on his Native flock. From the strong tendency which we painfully witness, even in those professing the Protestant faith, to adhere to the baneful principle of *Caste*, and to join in the practices of their Heathen neighbours and relatives, we conceive that till such decisive measures are adopted and acted upon, the Divine blessing cannot be expected to rest upon the efforts made, nor Christianity extensively to prevail.

The next is by six esteemed Missionaries in Jaffna, (from the United States,) the Rev. Messrs. MEIGS, POOR, WINSLOW, SPAULDING, SCUDDER, and WOODWARD; of whom, the latter, an amiable and devoted Missionary, has ceased from his labours:—

We agree with our brethren of the Church Mission in the opinion above expressed, that, to promote in the best manner the interests of Christianity among the Natives of Ceylon and India, prohibitions against idolatry and Heathenish practices, in substance such as those specified, should be anxiously and strenuously insisted upon by every Christian Missionary.

A residence in Ceylon of from eight to twelve years, with opportunity of observation by one or more of us in visits to Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and other parts of India, where Heathenism prevails, has confirmed us in the opinion that an enlightened but uncompromising opposition to *Caste*, and to every principle and practice even remotely connected with idolatry, is imperatively demanded of all who labour to establish Christianity in the strongholds of our great enemy.

And now I have the pleasure to quote the opinion of that most zealous and successful Missionary, the Rev. Mr. RHENIUS, who has joined the church above: his long and interesting letter is dated Palamcottah, and I select that which is relevant to our purpose :—

I have found *Caste*, both in theory and practice, to be diametrically opposed to the Gospel, which inculcates love, humility, and union; whereas Caste teaches the contrary. It is a fact: in those entire congregations where Caste is allowed, the spirit of the Gospel does not enter; whereas in those from which it is excluded, we see the fruits of the Gospel spirit. The old congregations of T—, V—, and T— afford proof to the former; their condition in point of Christian character is most lamentable, owing, I really believe, to the circumstance of retaining Caste; and the congregations at P. and N. give proofs to the contrary. The settled rule in every congregation should be *No Caste.*

The next is from the Rev. B. CLOUGH, Colombo, of the Wesleyan Mission, who had been fourteen years in the country :—

Considering all that has been urged on Caste, as being only a civil or political distinction, I am bound also as a Christian to look at its *religious* influence on all the relations of life; and here I must confess, that, in addition to what I have seen of its baneful effects among the Heathen, I have witnessed quite enough in the Native Christians to induce me to record my sentiments, that it is the duty of Christians to discourage its recognition in the church.

The Rev. C. MAULT, of the London Mission, Nagercoil, writes :—

Caste must be entirely renounced; for it is a noxious plant, by the side of which the graces cannot grow: for facts demonstrate that where it has been allowed, Christianity has never flourished. After a residence of nearly nine years in India, and the principal part of the time in the south of Travancore, where Native congregations have existed for many years, I am decidedly of opinion that the state of the people renders it necessary that regulations such as those now sent for Native Christians, should be enjoined.

The Rev. B. SCHMID, of the Church Mission, Satankullam, replies :—

I fully approve of the prohibitions for Native Christians, and of the remarks made by Brother Rhenius; for during a residence of nearly eleven years, partly in Madras, and partly in Tinnevelly, I am convinced of the truth of the observations on *Caste.* This is a mere invention of the ancestors of the Hindus, and directly opposed to the spirit of the Gospel; and until Natives shall have consented to this, I think it is the duty of all Missionaries to establish the closest union amongst themselves, in order to put it down in all its bearings, by fervent prayers, unwearied watchfulness, and unshaken fidelity.

The Rev. JOHN M'KENNY, Wesleyan Missionary, Galle, says,—

I have been upwards of twelve years in India, and have directed much of my attention to the subject of *Caste*, and am fully of opinion that it is altogether contrary to the nature and principles of the Gospel of Christ, and therefore ought not to be admitted into the Christian church.

The Rev. D. SCHREIGVOGEL, of Trichinopoly, who has finished his work on earth, testifies as follows:—

I have for many years been convinced of the necessity of conducting a congregation on similar principles to those you have sent, and have endeavoured to act upon them at Tranquebar; but I am sorry to say in vain, and have therefore been induced to leave that Mission, where I have laboured twenty-three years.

From the Rev. J. C. F. WINCKLER, I had the following answer:—

I delight *most* heartily in the thought that now, by one and another, Missionaries are beginning openly to agree as to the principles on which Christianity ought to be introduced, and kept aloof from all the baneful idolatrous practices,—*particularly Caste;* which proves the stronghold and bulwark of the enemy. I therefore join heart and hand with my brethren to act according to the rules laid down, and to exert myself to the utmost to induce others to do so.

From my beloved friend, the deceased Rev. L. HAUBROE, who came out with me in 1819, I had the following answer:—

I consider the prohibitions you have sent as perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Gospel, and absolutely necessary for the discipline of Christian congregations established in the midst of the Heathen.

With reference to the special practice of our Native congregations, to erect pandals at their marriages, or to invite friends to a dinner, I believe no one ought to object; but with the erection of pandals are connected Heathenish rites, which are owned to be so by Native Christians, as well as by the Heathen: these ought not to be connived at.

The Rev. R. S. HARDY, Wesleyan Missionary, Colombo, (author of "Notices of the Holy Land,") writes:—

The principle of *Caste* I consider so much at variance with the spirit of the Gospel, as to render impossible, where its authority is acknowledged, the exercise of many of the most beautiful virtues of our holy religion.

From the Rev. D. J. GOGERLY, of the same Society, it is declared:—

I regard the distinction of *Caste*, both in its principles and operations, as directly opposed to vital godliness, and consequently inadmissible into the church of Christ.

The next testimony is signed by four American Missionaries in Bombay:—

One of us has been in Bombay and its vicinity for ten years, another about seven; and two of us have recently arrived in the country; it is our united opinion, that the prohibitions are highly important and even indispensable.

A. GREAVES.
J. GARRETT.
O. ALLEN.
C. STONE.

From the Rev. ANDREW ARMOUR, Chaplain, Colombo, who had been thirty years in India, but who is now with God, we have this reply:—

I agree cordially with you on the great subject, that it is high time that *Caste* and all Heathenish customs should be taken from the house of God; deeply sensible also, that what you add is no less necessary, that much wisdom, much strength of mind, and, above all, divine grace, must be had in order to succeed.

The Rev. W. BRIDGNELL, Wesleyan Missionary, Korngalle, states:—

I perfectly agree with a writer of respectable authority in considering the institution of *Caste* as the most formidable engine that was ever invented for *perpetuating* the subjugation of men; so that as a friend to humanity only, I should feel myself bound to protest against and oppose it; but in particular as a Christian, I deem it my obvious and imperative duty wholly to discountenance it, conceiving it to be utterly repugnant to all the principles and the whole spirit of Christianity. He who is prepared to support the system of caste, is, in my judgment, neither a true friend of man, nor a consistent follower of Christ.

The Rev. S. ALLEN, Colombo, of the same Society, replies thus:—

During a residence of more than nine years in Ceylon, I have had many opportunities of witnessing the influence of *Caste* on the minds of the Natives; and I firmly believe it is altogether opposed to the spirit of Christianity; and it appears to me that its utter and speedy extinction cannot but be desired by every Minister of Christ.

The Rev. W. MITCHELL, Church Missionary, Bombay, writes:—

It appears to me, that for every newly-formed Indian church there should be prohibitions similar to those proposed by Mr. Roberts; and I conceive that the order, peace, and ultimate existence of churches may be deemed likely to depend upon a strict adherence to such rules.

From the Rev. R. STOUP, Wesleyan Missionary, Colombo, who has entered into his rest, we have this statement:—

From my own personal observation, during a four years' residence in Ceylon, I am decidedly of opinion that Caste is directly opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and, consequently, ought to be discouraged in every possible way.

The Rev. Messrs. WILLIAM and ALEXANDER FYVIE, Surat, of the London Missionary Society, state:—

One of us having lived among the Heathen in the province of Guzrath for about thirteen years, and the other for nearly six years, it is our opinion that the foregoing prohibitions are highly expedient, and that they ought in substance to be adopted and acted upon without the least compromise by all Ministers and Missionaries who are labouring to promote the cause of Christ.

The Rev. PETER PERCIVAL, Wesleyan Missionary, Jaffna, says,—

That prohibitions of the nature proposed are necessary, is my full conviction, so far as I can judge from my short acquaintance with the peculiarities of this Heathen people.

Similar testimony is borne by the Rev. J. GEORGE, of the same Society, Trincomalee:—

I am aware of the liability and even proneness of the members of the church to adhere to Heathenish practices and superstitions; and, thinking the prohibitions proposed to be quite in point, I cordially approve of them.

Our next witness is the great and good Dr. CAREY; and I may here say, a copy of this letter was requested to be published in his Life; but I was then on a Missionary tour, and afterwards neglected to send it.

Serampore, May 25th, 1828.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I CONSIDER all the things you have mentioned as the abominations of Heathenism, and that none of them ought to be tolerated in a Christian church. At the same time I observe that we, from the beginning of the Mission, considered opposition to Heathenism in all those forms to be absolutely necessary to the establishment of Christian churches, and have uniformly acted upon that principle. We therefore have met with very little trouble from this quarter. The evils exist in Bengal in all their power; but it is distinctly understood by all Native members of our churches that none of them would be allowed in the church of Christ. There is, therefore, no effort made to introduce or support such practices; and no distinction of rank, on account of Caste, exists among us. Those who were formerly Brahmins, and those who were of inferior Caste, are on a perfect level, and intermarry with each other without thinking of any distinction. We have much to try us, arising from the native corruption of the heart, wrought by the temptations which every way

surround us; but we have had comparatively no difficulty from the quarters which occasion you so much, owing, I believe, to the decided principles upon which we have acted from the first. Be assured, my dear brother, that I and all my brethren here feel a lively interest in every thing done by our brethren, of every denomination, in any place, for the purpose of promoting that sacred cause for which the Redeemer shed his blood.

I am, my dear brother,
Yours affectionately in Gospel bonds,
W. CAREY.

Rev. Joseph Roberts, Jaffnapatam, Ceylon.

To this valuable testimony, Professor MACH adds, in a postscript,

I completely concur in all that Dr. Carey has here stated.

And now, my dear brethren, having looked at Caste in its *origin*—in its true spirit, that being *sacred* and *civil*—at its *existence* and *character* amongst the Native Christians, at the reasons which induced me in 1828 to appeal to those reverend brethren; and having given their several protests, I ask, Can we innocently wink at such a despotism as this? Can we be silent or inactive at the daring attempt to unite Christ and Belial? Can we become parties to the toleration of a system which enlists religion, and law, and custom, to oppress mankind? Can we consent to such a domination, which goes to trample on every right, sacred or civil, which crushes every kindly feeling, which cramps genius, and sets at defiance all the precepts and example of Christ? We cannot, we will not; but will place ourselves in array against this atrocious confederacy, which impugns the benignity of God, limits the sympathies of the Redeemer, and makes man the moral, the mental oppressor of his race. We cannot, I submit, give licence to the smallest amount of this evil, either in domestic or religious life; for just as well might we plead for some minute sin, with the hope of one day ejecting it. Allow it the least privilege, and it will soon have the greatest, until it shall deform and demolish that spiritual temple in which Jesus delights to dwell. Nor must we supinely sit, looking at its hitherto successful attempts to resist the approach of Christ amongst the Native Heathen. No, we must be more aggressive on this stronghold of Satan: we must in every place witness against it; and show that even Government itself is nurturing a tremendous evil, that through its Heathen mana-

gers it is beguiled into a course which obstructs the progress of civilization, which keeps in repulsion our kindlier feelings, which creates and nurses distinctions the most alien to all the cordialities of life; and which, more than any other thing, makes the distance so immense betwixt the governed and the governors. Brethren, let us write and speak, not as those who feel timid lest something should start up to nullify our arguments, some undiscovered beauty to captivate our minds; it is evil, *only* evil, and that continually; and therefore we must let the influence of our tongues and pens be heard or read everywhere. Let us attack this strong man armed, who keeps his goods in peace; and, though he may rage, and imagine a vain thing, we shall succeed.

Think not, my friends, that our previous efforts have been fruitless; for the testimonies I have read to you have produced good results. Through these the devoted Bishop Turner was greatly moved in his spirit to claim for Christ and his church their due and unalienable rights; through these we *believe* Bishop Wilson was partly led to take such decisive measures *immediately* on his arrival in this country; for we know the documents *were* amongst the archives of the church in Calcutta. The protest of the Missionaries have had their weight in England; they have been repeatedly read and quoted to some of the most learned, most pious men of the land, and I must at least specify one instance. Circumstances, which, though interesting to myself, might not be so to you, introduced me to the notice and presence of the pious Archbishop of Canterbury in his palace at Lambeth; and never shall I forget the demeanour of that meek, that exalted Prelate. *In the course of conversation, I endeavoured to lead his Grace to the state of things in the Eastern Mission, especially to the existence of Caste in the church; and mentioned the documents I had, all testifying against the evil. He was much interested, and I offered to let him have copies; which he accepted with pleasure, and said they should be sent to Calcutta. I furnished a transcript of the correspondence, and have the fullest reason to believe he gave the whole his solemn consideration, and dispatched it, as referred to.* Thus, though the Missionary testimonies would *not* be received by Bishop Wilson (from Lambeth) until after he had written his most Christian letter of July 5th, 1833; still we cannot doubt, that, coming through such a channel, they would strengthen him

in his noble career. I therefore repeat, that the uncompromising opposition of the thirty-three witnesses did good service to our cause in England, as well as in India.

I conclude, my dear brethren; and hope our hearts, and eyes, and ears will ever be open to our duty: for "heaven and earth shall pass away," but his words "shall not pass away." "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it." Then shall the terrible evil we have been complaining of be removed; for "they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain." "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." "The cow and the bear" shall feed together, "the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den;" the leopard and the kid shall sleep in the same lair, the turtle-dove and the eagle shall perch on the same spray, and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." (Isaiah xi.)

III.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS, APPOINTED BY THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS, TO INQUIRE IN WHAT SENSE AND TO WHAT EXTENT CASTE IS HELD BY THE NATIVE AGENTS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS,* IN THE VEPERY DISTRICT, TOGETHER WITH THE EVIDENCE UPON WHICH THE REPORT IS FOUNDED.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS, ON A VISITATION-TOUR, CALCUTTA.

Madras, August 25th, 1846.

MY LORD,

As I am well aware of the strong interest you feel in the abolition of Caste amongst native Christians, partly from your Lordship's condescending note on receiving a small pamphlet I had written on the subject,—also from the general tenor of your conduct, and by your appointment of two Commissioners to inquire "in what sense and to what extent Caste is held by the native agents;" and as I am most anxious that all (or at least copious) extracts from the various tracts and letters published on this subject, should be brought into *one* publication; I request you will allow me to avail myself of the admirable "Report" made to your Lordship, as I am convinced that such documents will do much to enlighten the public mind, and contribute to the downfall of one of the most atrocious systems of tyranny that ever afflicted the human race.

I am, my Lord,

Your humble servant,

JOSEPH ROBERTS.

The following copy of an autograph note, from the Lord Bishop of this diocese, in reply to the preceding communi-

* The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, it may be necessary to explain to some of our readers, is entirely distinct from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. They are governed by different rules, and directed by different Committees. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is a Missionary Society. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge is a Bible, Tract, and Book Society, though it contributes munificently to the establishment and support of schools and building churches throughout the world.

cation, is without date: it was probably written whilst on a journey, and despatched *via* Calcutta, as it bears the post-office mark of that city, of October the 8th; and that of Madras of October 19th, 1846:—

My dear Sir,

I hasten to reply to your letter, which, in consequence of my being on a visitation-tour in a remote part of the diocese of Calcutta, has but just reached me; and beg to assure you, that you are perfectly free to make any use you may desire of the excellent statement respecting Caste, to which you refer. I am rejoiced to have your cordial and valuable co-operation in resisting what I firmly believe to be an invention of the author of evil, the father of lies, and by which he enthrals so many millions of souls in this country.

Believe me,
My dear Sir,
Your very faithful servant,
G. T. Madras.

Via Calcutta, by the "Enterprise."
Rev. Joseph Roberts, Madras.
G. T. Madras.

(FROM THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN INTELLIGENCER.)

The praise of the Missionaries of the last century, by whom, under God, and through the pious liberality of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the church was planted in Southern India, "is in all the churches." The names Schwartz, Fabricius, Gerické, and, in a greater or less degree, of all engaged in this glorious work, will be had in everlasting remembrance; and the deepest debt of gratitude is due not only by the church, but by the state, for the benefits, political and social, temporal and eternal, wrought by the instrumentality of these Ministers indeed of a sister communion, but Missionaries * of our own beloved church.

But while their labours were indeed most devoted,—though they counted not their lives dear to them, that they might proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ to those who were sunk in "abominable idolatries," and perishing for lack of knowledge,—the church is to this day reaping the bitter fruit of one great mistake into which they fell, in permitting the retention by their Christian converts of the unscriptural

* It is not a little remarkable, that Lutheran Clergymen should have been thus liberally maintained for the long period of nearly one hundred years by an Episcopalian Society,—a Society in the closest connexion with the Church of England, to which every one of its members must belong.

and degrading distinctions of Caste, in allowing that which is essentially Heathenish in its origin and tendencies to be introduced into the church of Christ:

They indulged, doubtless, the confident but *vain hope*,—vain as the result has hitherto but too clearly evinced,—that with increasing knowledge, Caste observances would lose their power, and ere long be utterly abandoned; the fatal consequences of this unhappy compromise in men so distinguished, may well be regarded as a beacon to the present age, and read to us, both individually and as a church, the all-important lesson, that the path of consistency is the only path of safety, and that in swerving either to the right hand or to the left from the only rule of faith and practice, "the law and the testimony," the blessed word of eternal truth, we do but involve ourselves in a labyrinth of difficulties, from which perchance there may be no escape.

If we apply the scriptural test, "By their fruits ye shall know them," both to those Missions in which this fatal error was committed, and to those in which it has been faithfully grappled with and resisted, as injurious to the temporal and spiritual interests of our native fellow-Christians, and to the prosperity of the church of Christ, we shall have no difficulty in rightly estimating the pernicious influence which Caste exercises on the intellectual and moral perceptions, and on the affections of the human heart, reading us another humbling lesson, which the fathers of our Indian church, alas! allowed themselves in this instance to overlook, "that the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Who can know it?"

In all the old Missions we see, more or less, the deadening influence of Caste. In those of more modern origin, where watchfulness and prayer, and the exercise of a firm discipline, have been employed to prevent its entrance into the church, we cannot be insensible to the increase of spiritual life and vigour, of Christian simplicity and love. We want not indeed instances at the present moment, were it desirable to enumerate them, to establish the incontrovertible truth that, in proportion as this evil is overcome in any branch of an old Mission, or as it is allowed to gain ground in any district of a modern Mission, does spirituality revive, or die.

We have been led at present to advert to this all-important subject by the perusal of the valuable Report of a Commission

appointed by the Lord Bishop for its investigation, in consequence of a painful manifestation of Caste spirit toward a most estimable native Clergyman, who having long since been enabled, through grace, to escape from this bondage of corruption, and to adopt the only scriptural principle and rule on this exciting question, had subjected himself to the hatred of those who still cling to the ceremonial distinctions of clean and unclean, and "many other such like things," as recognised and enforced by the maxims of Hindooism.

We recommend this important document to the careful and prayerful perusal of our readers, being fully persuaded that the knowledge of so unspeakable an evil will forward, under the divine blessing, its eradication from our Christian Zion; where, so long as it exists, it cannot but retard the intellectual and spiritual growth of the body of Christ, and act as an incubus, a moral upas-tree, preventing the development of the church's energy in her never-ceasing warfare against ignorance, superstition, and sin.

We rejoice to know that in Tinnevelly this deadly evil has comparatively no existence, because it meets with no countenance or quarter; and wherever, as has in one spot recently occurred, it displays itself, it is met with that resistance which the Gospel ever opposes to spiritual darkness; nor can we be sufficiently thankful that in one of the former strongholds of this error in the Tanjore district, the faithful and zealous administration of the Gospel of Christ is found mighty to its destruction, and effectual to bring the once-proud and self-sufficient Brahmin, the Vellalar, Shanar, and Pariah, to regard one another as "one in Christ," fellow-members of his mystical body, and joint-heirs of his everlasting kingdom.

We cannot dismiss this important subject without imploring our native fellow-Christians, *on a question like this*,—which, say or do what they will, can never be divorced from its inseparable connexion with religion and their spiritual and eternal interests,—not to make the vain attempt to conciliate their Heathen countrymen, by conforming to their customs; but to cultivate the esteem of their fellow-Christians, who will judge of their respectability, not by *Heathen*, but by *Gospel*, rules, and, above all, to seek "the praise of God."

The Tamil Christians, we fear, are endeavouring to steer, what has never yet been found, and never will be discovered,

a middle course between light and darkness, forgetting that it is *impossible* "to serve God and Mammon." We would earnestly counsel them to come "to the law and the testimony;" and, in the diligent and prayerful searching of the Scriptures, they will find that even the ceremonial distinctions once established by Infinite Wisdom, as "shadows of good things to come," were abrogated, as inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and that nothing is henceforth to be considered "common or unclean." How much more then must the ceremonial observances of *Heathenism* be inadmissible!

Let the faithful and unhesitating obedience of the Apostle Peter be the rule of our native fellow-Christians; and if he went, "without gainsaying," and without fearing the face of man, on his message of mercy and love to the house of Cornelius, and did eat with the Gentiles, let them not scruple to enter the house of him whom Hindooism indeed degrades and enslaves, but Christianity has come to exalt, and ennoble, and to regard him "not now as a servant," (a Pariah,) "but above a servant, a brother beloved, both in the flesh and in the Lord." We trust that that mind will be wrought in them which was also in Christ Jesus. He is exhibited to us not only as a sacrifice for sin, but also as an ensample of godly life; and in all things in which he acted as man, (though he was Lord of all,) it is incumbent on us to "walk in his steps."

We believe that the judgment of all experienced Missionaries, and of all intelligent Christians, whose only rule of faith and practice is the Bible, is *one* on this point; and we cannot see how any office in the church, be it that of Priest or Deacon, Catechist, Reader, Schoolmaster, or even Sponsor, can with propriety be committed to any one retaining the principles of Caste as they are developed in the present Report.

We regret that the *evidence* by which this valuable record is supported is too voluminous to admit of our inserting it; but we feel confident that all who have carefully investigated the subject will acquiesce in its most just conclusions. Every day's experience, indeed, has confirmed and strengthened the decision many years since adopted,—that Caste cannot be tolerated in the church of Christ.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

1. HAVING, as your Lordship's Commissioners, inquired as fully as lay in our power into the matter submitted to us in your Lordship's letter, dated July 21st, 1845, we have the honour to submit to your Lordship the result of our examination of various individuals connected with the Vepery Mission, and to add the following notes on the subject.

2. The matter proposed for inquiry is twofold.

3. First, the "sense" in which Caste is held by the native Christians of the Vepery Mission; and,

4. Second, the "extent" to which they hold it.

5. First, as regards the "sense" in which Caste is held by these native Christians, we are of opinion, from the examination of the various witnesses who have appeared before us, that it differs in no respect from that in which it is held by the Heathen natives around them. The principles of it are the same in both; and the practices of it are precisely similar: and although it appears that some of their customs of a public ceremonial nature have of late years been gradually relinquished, those which are still retained, tend, in our opinion, to point to this identity of the principle from which they spring.

6. Caste, an institution peculiar, we believe, in the present day, to the natives of India, appears, as amongst the ancient Egyptians,* Medes,† Persians,‡ Athenians,§ and Peruvians,|| (if we are right in supposing the classifications of those nations to have been analogous to Hindu Castes,) to have originated in priestcraft and superstition in ages of intellectual darkness. Whatever may have been its political advantages, and whatever the ambitious aims of its inventors, nothing but a subjection to a truly slavish superstition could have induced the lower ranks, especially, to submit for so many generations, and under so many insulting provocations, to so debasing and despotic a tyranny. The distinctions are, unquestionably, religious distinctions, originating in, and maintained by, the operation of Hindu idolatry. The tyranny of the institution is such as to be perfectly unaccountable on any other supposition; and it is freely acknowledged to owe its dominion to this cause by the Hindus themselves. It was long since observed by Europeans, that "the influence of priestcraft over" superstition is no where so visible as in "India: all the commerces of life have" a strict analogy with the ceremonies of "religion."¶ The Laws of Menu, and Halhed's Gentoo Code, supply ample foundation for all that might be said of the close connexion existing between Caste and the idolatrous superstitions of the Hindus. It is by no means analogous, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, to the distinction of ranks amongst Europeans. It is clearly a religious as well as a social distinction; and, under no circumstances, in our opinion, can Caste exist, without some bond, however imperceptible to ordinary observation, which connects it with the national superstitions.

* Herodotus, lib. ii., cap. 164. † *Ibid.*, lib. i., cap. 101. ‡ Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i., 205. § Plato's Timæus. || *Carli Lettres sur l'Amerique*, let. 13, as quoted by Mill. ¶ Orme on the Government, &c., of Hindostan.

7. But it may be objected, that, however true this may be when predicated of Caste amongst the Heathen Hindus, a doubt may arise as to this "sense" of it, as prevalent amongst the native Christians. In charity we will avoid the positive assertion of their habitual consciousness of its genuine character; but the facts elicited, even in this inquiry, do not admit of our acquitting them of being perfectly sensible of its utter incompatibility with the very principles of Christian morals. This conviction is evinced by Pariahs and Caste-men alike: they seem to be well aware of its Heathen origin, and are not blind to its un-Christian character. Amongst them, as amongst the Heathen Hindus, Caste is lost by defilement, and retained by purity; as those qualities are conceived of, not by the Christian, but by the Hindu, religion. Contact with an outcast or Pariah, admission of such a person into their houses, eating food with him, or eating food prepared by his hands; these and similar sources of defilement, as amongst the Heathen Hindus, constitute pollution, and subject the parties affected to loss of Caste. In one instance it appears that a Christian native of the Teloogoo Sudra Caste was considered to have finally lost Caste by assuming, not the European costume generally, but the hat in particular, the lining of which is formed of leather, the skin of a dead animal, a thing unclean in the superstitions of the Hindus. The intercourse still kept up between native Christians and Heathens of the same Caste, while both alike shun all familiarity with Christian and Heathen Pariahs, seems to afford additional evidence of the identity of the tie which still binds them together. If, therefore, Caste is a superstitious distinction with the one, (and we cannot doubt it,) then may we reasonably suspect it to be the same with the other. It is one of the evils of Heathenism, which has unwarily and most unfortunately been allowed to accompany the native convert in his passage to Christianity.

8. That superstitious influences should retain a secret hold on the mind, after all open subjection to the gross idolatries from which they spring, has been professedly disavowed and discarded, is by no means inconsistent with the infirmities of human nature. The converts at Corinth in the days of St. Paul were probably more intellectually endowed, and equally civilized with our Hindu converts at present. The general character of the Greek nation forbids the supposition that the immediate neighbours of the Athenians were inferior in such respects to the natives of Hindostan. Yet we know that their lingering dread of their national gods caused the holy Apostle much solicitude, and gave occasion for his reproving those stronger-minded persons who inconsiderately exposed their weaker brethren to the temptations connected with it. How is it impossible that similar remains of idolatrous superstition may secretly influence the native Hindu Christians in their retention of Caste, with all its idolatrously-conceived ceremonial pollutions and perverted notions of purity? May we not apprehend that a more searching inquiry by the Missionaries themselves might perchance elicit much to confirm the suspicion that a secret dread, perhaps a modified secret worship, of their false national gods, may still lurk amongst the professedly Christian observers of Caste?

9. With regard to the second branch of this inquiry, the "extent" to which Caste is held by the native Christians of the Vepery Mission, we regret to say, that in every instance the parties who appeared before

us, Pariahs and Tamulians, seemed to be in some sense or some degree tinctured with it. However deeply the former were sensible of its degrading insolence when operating against them, they were all conscious of precisely similar feelings and practices, arising apparently from similar principles, towards those unfortunates who, in the scale of Hindu Castes, are lower than themselves. The adherence of these prejudices even to the Pariah Christians, is a remarkable evidence of the nature and extent of the evil. But its mode of operation in separating the nearest and dearest relations, even against the will of the parties themselves; its unseemly contempt of what is due to the Ministers of Christ; its creation of artificial barriers against the communion in Christian charity between the members of the church; its unhallowed intrusion into the temple, and even to the table, of the Lord;—all and each mark it as one of those spirits of Antichrist which, we think, God's Ministers cannot tolerate without sin, cannot encourage without impiety.

10. Under these convictions we cannot but believe that those worthy men, who, like Schwartz and Gerické, at the outset of our Protestant Missions to the Hindus, unwarily submitted to the continuance of Caste amongst their converts, *were deceived as to its necessary character*. Had it appeared to them as we view it now, it seems impossible that they should for one moment have permitted any false ideas of expediency to have betrayed them into *so fatal a step as its open acknowledgment*. In their day our acquaintance with the science, religion, languages, customs, and national character of the Hindus was comparatively in its infancy. They were themselves men of holy simplicity, and of the most zealous Christian charity; of that charity which, under no suspicion of imposition or of duplicity, "thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." We venerate these pious men too well to believe them capable of consciously tolerating idolatrous practices among their converts. Had they viewed Caste as we view it, no temporising policy would have withheld them from urging its downfall. They knew that the convert who was not prepared to give up all for Christ, was not worthy of him.

11. In conclusion, we desire to record our deep concern at the lamentable fate of young Christian widows. We fear this is in some degree connected, indirectly perhaps, with Caste prejudices. Left in utter desolation without protectors or advisers, frequently at an age which we should deem that of simplest childhood, they are allowed to grow up in a humiliating sense of degradation. Debarred by the criminal customs of their people from all hope of honourable marriage, and without adequate restraints of a moral or religious nature, they too often become unhappy victims of irregular indulgence of passion. Even if innocent of this, they are scarcely free from the imputation of guilt; and under the most favourable circumstances they are in danger of becoming objects of suspicion, contempt, and obloquy.

Any immediate remedy for this evil seems scarcely to be hoped for; but we do entertain a strong trust that the total abolition of Caste might, in time, favourably affect the unhappy prejudices of the native converts on this important subject.

12. We are aware that this examination may appear to have elicited fewer striking or novel revelations of the evils of Caste, than might have been anticipated by persons unacquainted with the native character.

Such persons can have little notion of the wariness and astuteness with which the natives evade unpalatable inquiry into their practices and prejudices. It was often only by repeating the same question in various forms, and admonishing them against deceit, that definite answers were finally obtained; and in one instance we were obliged to relinquish our examination in absolute despair. Enough, however, we think, has been here recorded to warrant our impression of the real character and extent of this evil, and to suggest the propriety of the general adoption by our church societies, of some definite plan for resolutely discountenancing or suppressing the continuance of it.

We have the honour to be,
My Lord Bishop,
Your Lordship's faithful servants,
(Signed) The Rev. Geo. Wm. Mahon, A.M.,
Chaplain of St. Mary's, Fort St. George.
(Signed) The Rev. A. R. Symonds, A.M.,
Head-Master of Bishop Corrie's School.

Fort St. George, Madras, October 29th, 1845.

NOTICE.

In the month of July, 1845, the Lord Bishop of Madras, having had his attention called to the distressing evils of Caste, requested the Rev. G. W. Mahon, A.M., Garrison Chaplain at Fort St. George, and the Rev. A. R. Symonds, A.M., Head Master of Bishop Corrie's Grammar School, to allow themselves to be named his Lordship's Commissioners, for inquiring "in what sense, and to what extent, the native Catechists, in the employ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in the Vepery District, are maintainers of Caste."

In reply, these gentlemen informed the Bishop, that, feeling themselves deficient in some qualifications desirable for the full and satisfactory investigation of such a subject, they should undertake the task proposed with considerable diffidence. At the same time, deeming it a duty to comply, to the best of their ability, with the Bishop's request, in any matter connected with the furtherance of the Gospel, they respectfully placed their services, however imperfect, at his disposal.

The result was, that, after expressing his sense of the manner in which they had consented, at his request, and under his authority, to investigate this subject, his Lordship still desired that they should undertake the proposed commission.

In proceeding to the performance of their duties, the Commissioners deemed it advisable to avoid, generally, all theoretical discussions on Caste, while examining witnesses, from whom little satisfactory could be gained in such views of the subject; and to confine their inquiries, almost entirely, to the practical effects of the institution upon the minds, the morals, and the Christian character of the Mission community.

The most simple-minded natives, if qualified merely to observe and remember what passed before them daily, would be, obviously, very capable witnesses as to such matters of fact; and it may possibly be thought, that, from such persons, the Commissioners were quite as likely to ascertain the truth, as from more interested and unwilling, even though better educated, individuals. But had this been otherwise, they had little choice in the matter. They had no power to summon before them any persons they might desire to examine; and they had no authority to compel such persons to answer questions, even if they did attend. The servants of the Mission, who, as such, were subject to ecclesiastical authority, were the only persons from whom they could claim information; and they thought it right to begin, at least, with them.

As the examination proceeded, it appeared unnecessary to accumulate further evidence, merely to prove the tendency and effects of Caste on the minds of the native Christians. It was clear, that however it might, or might not, influence the manifestation of their faith, or their hope, it was utterly destructive of their charity: and, from St. Paul's preaching, it was also evident, that the two former must needs be delusive, where the latter is non-existent.

The Report of the Commissioners, founded upon their view of the result of their various inquiries, has been published by authority of the Bishop. That publication has induced a desire, on the part of many friends and supporters of the Society, to have the evidence published also.

'The inquiry and its results, however, have occasioned, it is understood, some excitement and irritation amongst the holders of Caste and their abettors; and the Committee, after some consideration, have thought it right, in sanctioning the publication asked for, to direct the omission of such parts of the evidence as, by leading directly to the identification of individuals, might expose any of the witnesses to petty per-

secution: *such parts only are here omitted.* For the same reason, the order of the witnesses is changed, and the numbers originally attached to the questions are erased. The necessity for even this partial suppression of the evidence, serves to strengthen the conviction of the unscriptural nature of Caste, and makes the Committee the more anxious for its eradication.

They heartily commend the subject to the prayers of the church; and may God grant, for the sake of his well-beloved Son, that the movement, now made amongst our native brethren, may lead them to consider and to obey "this commandment," which "we have from Him,"

"That he who loveth God, love his brother also."

EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES, EXAMINED BY THE COMMISSIONERS, APPOINTED BY THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS, TO INQUIRE INTO THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CASTE AMONGST THE NATIVE AGENTS IN THE VEPERY MISSION.

The Commissioners having met, according to appointment, at the Rev. G. W. Mahon's house in Fort St. George,

········· *is examined.*

Q. What is your name? *A.* ·········

Q. Can you speak English? *A.* No. (Is examined through an interpreter.)

Q. Is ········· your only name? *A.* Yes, I have no other.

Q. How old are you? *A.* Forty years.

Q. How long have you been in Mission employ? *A.* I was first employed in the Church Mission in 1827.

Q. What was your first employment? *A.* That of a schoolmaster.

Q. Was your father a Christian? *A.* Yes, and I was baptized in my infancy.

Q. Have you always been employed as a schoolmaster? *A.* No, for eight or nine years I was a catechist; I ceased to be so only one year since.

Q. How long were you in the service of the Church Mission? *A.* I was a schoolmaster in that Mission for about ten years.

Q. Why did you leave that service? *A.* Because of a dispute I had with ·········, the ·········.

Q. What occasioned that dispute? *A.* I renounced Caste.

Q. To what Caste did you then belong? *A.* I was a Tamul Christian of the Chetty Caste.

Q. Why did you relinquish Caste? *A.* In consequence of the instruction I received from the Rev. Mr. Sawyer, and because my own experience and convictions had taught me the evils of Caste.

Q. Did you eat and drink or otherwise associate with Pariahs before renouncing Caste? *A.* No; but since then I have done so frequently.

Q. Did ········ desire you not to renounce Caste? *A.* Yes, he used all means of dissuasion, and tried to frighten me, to prevent my renouncing Caste. He afterwards made false complaints against me to Mr. Sawyer, accusing me of neglecting my duties. Mr. Sawyer knew that these complaints were made on account of jealousy, and therefore would not listen to them. Afterwards Mr. Sawyer also was not induced to listen to them; but Mr. B., who did not understand the Tamul language, was imposed on, and wished to reduce me to the grade of a teacher under a schoolmaster. I objected to this, and took my discharge. But some little time after, Mr. B. inquired about me from Mr. D., and other gentlemen who knew me, and then he gave me a written character.

Q. Have you that with you? *A.* No, I gave it to the Rev. Mr. Taylor, who was then of the London Mission, and he employed me almost immediately as a catechist.

Q. How long were you in the employ of the London Mission? *A.* About eight years.

Q. When did you leave them, and why? *A.* About two years ago I was sent to ········, as catechist and schoolmaster. There is an annual feast held there by the Romanists; and last year my pupils, who were all either Romanists or Heathens, (I had not one Protestant,) all absented themselves to go to this feast: just at that time Mr. L. came to ········, and finding my school empty, he discharged me.

Q. What did you do after this? *A.* I came to Madras, and reported what had happened to my old Minister, the Rev. Mr. Taylor, and he was kind enough to employ me as acting schoolmaster.

Q. Do you still renounce Caste? *A.* Yes.

Q. Would you be allowed to resume your Caste now if you wished to do so? *A.* No.

Q. Have you any Christian Tamul boys in your school? *A.* Not now. But when in the Church Mission, some years ago, I had some.

Q. Did they remain after you renounced Caste? *A.* Yes.

Q. Have you relations who still hold Caste? *A.* Yes.

Q. Are they Christians? *A.* Yes, and belong to the Vepery Mission.

Q. Will they not hold intercourse with you? *A.* Yes. If I go into the country, where they can do it secretly, and there is no one to take notice of it, my brother and sister will do so, and even eat rice with me; but here, in Madras, they will not admit me into their houses, nor have any intercourse with me; because if they did, they would be expelled from the society of all the other Tamul Christians.

Q. Are any of your relations employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* Yes; my brother's son is ········.

Q. What is his duty as ········? *A.* He is ········.

Q. What is his name? *A.* I have had so very little communication with my family for many years past, that I do not know his name.

Q. At the baptism of children of Tamul Christians, what customs are observed? *A.* The sponsors and a few of the invited friends attend the actual baptism in the church; and afterwards there is an entertainment at the house. The entertainment consists of currie and rice, and, if the parents can afford it, fruits.

Q. Is it usual for the visitors to make presents to the child? *A.* Yes,

they sometimes bring presents of fruits, and sometimes the sponsors give the child a new dress, and occasionally jewels.

Q. Is any ceremony observed in the mode of making these *vorissas* or presents? *A.* Yes, they are brought to the house in procession. Musicians, with *dummoys*,* *cunnacatuppatis*,† *arabbees*,‡ *nagasarums*,§ *sunnoyees*,‖ *jillums*,¶ and *muthalums*,** go first; and after them come five Christian Tamulens carrying the *voolardee*; †† under the *voolardee* walk women in their best dresses, carrying the fruit in brass dishes.

Q. Is this done in the Vepery Mission now? *A.* No.

Q. How long is it since these practices ceased? *A.* They have been discontinued about ten years.

Q. Why were they discontinued? *A.* The Rev. Mr. Taylor gave them reasons why they should not observe such customs.

Q. Are they observed in any other Mission. *A.* I believe not.

Q. Had other Missions discontinued these practices before the Vepery Mission did so? *A.* Yes, all of them; and since Mr. Taylor preached against the customs as Heathenish, the presents and music are all discontinued; only the sponsors sometimes give the child a dress.

Q. Do the Heathens observe similar customs at the naming of a child? *A.* Yes, they do.

Q. At what age do Tamul Christians generally marry? *A.* The young men are married when about twenty, and the young women when between twelve and fifteen.

Q. Do they choose husbands and wives for themselves? *A.* No, they are chosen by their parents.

Q. Do they see each other before the day of marriage? *A.* No. But sometimes when a young woman goes out to draw water, or for some similar purpose, a young man may see her, and request his parents to choose her for his wife. This, however, is very seldom done, and he never talks with her.

Q. Why is he not allowed to speak to her? *A.* It is not customary.

Q. What customs are observed by Tamul Christians at marriages? *A.* After they return from the church, an entertainment of currie and rice is given at the bridegroom's house, if he can afford it,—and if not, at the bride's; but they have no music of any kind.

Q. Are you quite sure of that? *A.* Those who observe the Church rules do not. But sometimes those who are independent do.

Q. What kind of music do these independent people employ? *A.* The same that I have already mentioned, as formerly used at baptisms. I never saw a "fiddle" used.

Q. Do not the marriage party go from the church to the house of the bride's parents? *A.* No; they go to the bridegroom's, unless he is very poor and unable to give the entertainment: and then *they* do it.

* Kettle-drums set on a bullock, and beaten by a barber.
† Large drums carried upon the arm, and beaten by a Pariah.
‡ Drums carried round the waist, and beaten by a Pariah.
§ Clarionets, ‖ Drones, ¶ Cymbals, } played by barbers.
** Long wooden drums suspended from the neck, and played at both ends with the hand, by barbers.
†† A canopy formed by a large sheet or palampore raised in the centre on a pole, and extended by being pulled out at the four corners by hand.

The bride goes at once generally to the bridegroom's house; and she does not go to her father's house again until the third day after the marriage: she and her husband then go, and stop there two or three days, as a compliment to her parents; who on that occasion give presents of new clothes to them both.

Q. Is any public entertainment then given by the bride's parents? *A.* Those who accompany the young couple are hospitably received; but no public entertainment is given, and no invitations issued.

Q. If the husband should die, what position does the widow hold in the family? *A.* She is obliged to earn her own living by labour or trade.

Q. Is she not looked down upon by the family? *A.* No.

Q. Did you marry before you renounced Caste, or afterwards? *A.* Afterwards. The Rev. Mr. S. arranged a marriage for me with the daughter of one ·········, a Pariah Christian of the Church Mission. No Tamul woman would have been given to me at that time.

Q. Would the son of a Pariah Christian butler marry the daughter of a Christian barber? *A.* It ought to be done; but I know of no instance.

Q. May a converted barber continue in the same trade? *A.* Yes, he may.

Q. What customs are observed at the deaths of Tamul Christians? *A.* If the deceased was married, or of mature age, rice, pepper-water, and *arittakeeray*,* are given to the persons who attend. But if the deceased be a child, gram-congee or cocoanut-conjee is given. It is not provided in the house, but supplied, as well as the cheroots, by some near relation. Notice of the death is given to all the acquaintances, whether Christian or Heathen, and they attend or not, as they please.

Q. If the Clergyman should chance to be absent, and only a Pariah catechist present, would he read the Burial Service? *A.* No. It would not be permitted by the Tamulens.

Q. Who, then, would officiate? *A.* I have never known the absence of a Tamul catechist.

Q. Do you know the Rev. N. Parenjody? *A.* Yes. He is an ordained Minister; and is a Pariah.

Q. If no European or country-born Minister were present, would the Tamul Christians permit the Rev. N. Parenjody to baptize their children, to marry them, or to bury their dead? *A.* I know of no instance in which such a thing has happened; but I think they would object.

Q. If he officiated in the ordinary service of the church, would the Tamulens attend? *A.* I do not think they would. I know of no instance, however.

Q. In the absence of the Missionary, does not a catechist sometimes read the service in the Vepery church? *A.* Yes; but he is always a Tamul Christian, never a Pariah.

Q. Do the Tamulens and Pariahs sit together in the Vepery church? *A.* No, they have separate places. (The description of the manner and places in which they sit, as given by this witness, corresponds with that given by ·········. (*Vide* p. 55.))

Q. Do not the Tamul and Pariah catechists sit together? *A.* They sit separately. The Tamul catechists would not sit with the Pariahs.

* A green leaf boiled.

········· *is examined.*

Q. What is your name? *A.* ·········.

Q. Do you speak English? *A.* Very little. (Is examined through an interpreter.)

Q. Is ········· your baptismal name? *A.* Yes.

Q. When were you baptized? *A.* When I was an infant, at Tanquebar.

Q. How long have you been employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* Twenty years.

Q. Were you similarly employed elsewhere previously? *A.* Yes, I was employed as a schoolmaster by the Lutheran Missionaries at Tranquebar for about two years.

Q. How long had your family been Christians? *A.* For five generations.

Q. What was your father? *A.* He was first a schoolmaster, and afterwards a catechist at Tranquebar.

Q. Why did you leave the Mission at Tranquebar? *A.* Dr. Rottler wrote to Dr. Caemmerer, to send him a schoolmaster and assistant catechist to Vepery, and I was selected for the situation: this was in 1826. On my arrival I was for one year schoolmaster of the Vepery compound school; and on the Sunday evenings I preached to the native congregations in Vepery church. After that I was appointed by the Committee of the Gospel Society to conduct a school, and to instruct the congregation at R·········, where I remained for thirteen years; until six years ago, when Mr. Taylor made me assistant-catechist and schoolmaster at B·········; I was there employed for four years. Then for one year and a half I was assistant-catechist only at B·········; and six months ago the catechist at V········· was discharged, since which I have been acting-catechist there.

Q. Are you a Tamulen? *A.* Yes.

Q. To what Caste do you belong? *A.* To the cultivators' Caste.

Q. In what sense do you consider yourself different from a Pariah? *A.* There is no difference in religious performance; but there is a difference in the inter-marriages and eating.

Q. Would you marry a Pariah Christian woman? *A.* No.

Q. Would you eat with a Pariah Christian man? *A.* No.

Q. Would you go into a Pariah Christian's house? *A.* Yes, freely.

Q. Would you permit a Pariah Christian man to enter your house? *A.* He might come to the entrance, but he has no business to go further.

Q. Would you partake of food, bread, or water, with any European Christian gentleman? *A.* What advantage is there?

Q. That is not an answer to the question. *A.* I do in the church.

Q. If a Pariah Christian, having been ordained, should preach in Vepery church, would you stay and hear him? *Q.* Yes, I would.

Q. Why, then, did you leave that church when the Rev. N. Parenjody read the lessons there? *A.* I never heard that Parenjody put his foot on the reading desk, or went into the place.

Q. Did he read the lessons, then, from some other part of the church? *A.* I saw him sitting in a certain seat; but I never saw him read the lessons, nor the prayers, nor preach there.

Q. Do you think it scriptural to do as you do in the matter of Caste?

A. Whatever is reasonable is scriptural; but scriptural maxims are quite different from worldly customs.

Q. Do you believe Christ to be God? *A.* Yes.

Q. Was all Christ said true, and all he did right? *A.* Yes.

Q. Ought we to do all that Christ commands? *A.* Yes.

Q. Ought we to do all that Christ forbids? *A.* We ought not.

Q. Did not Christ enter the houses of publicans and sinners, and eat with them? *A.* He being Lord and God did not think any other man different.

Q. "Different," from what, or from whom? *A.* It is impossible for man to do the same as God.

Q. But did not Christ command us to follow his example and commands? *A.* No one has performed all that Jesus has said.

Q. Are we not told to have the same mind that was in Christ Jesus? *A.* I do not deny that.

Q. Is it being like-minded to refuse to eat with, or be touched by, certain of our fellow-Christians, and to exclude them from our houses? *A.* Of course Christ would not do so.

Note by the Commissioners.—It was found almost impossible to obtain from this witness a direct and honest answer to any question put to him. The above was extracted after a most tedious and painful cross-examination, during one hour and three-quarters; and it was found necessary at last to give up his examination in absolute despair. The result of his equivocations, evasions, and admissions, upon our minds, has been the unavoidable conclusion, that he observes Caste in its fullest extent, and that he does so in spite of his conviction of its being utterly unscriptural and in opposition to his duty as a Christian.

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*Annapen is examined.**

Q. What is your name? *A.* Annapen.

Q. Have you any other name? *A.* No.

Q. What does the word Annapen mean? *A.* It means "bread."

Q. Can you speak English? *A.* Yes.

Q. How long have you been employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* Since August, 1840.

Q. What has been the nature of your employment? *A.* I have been a schoolmaster.

Q. Are you a Christian by birth? *A.* Yes, I am the son of Amurdupen, the catechist.

Q. Then you are of the same Caste or class as Amurdupen? *A.* Yes.

Q. Are you married? *A.* Yes.

Q. Is your wife of the same class as yourself? *A.* Yes.

Q. Whose daughter was she? *A.* I do not know who her father was. Her mother was a native Heathen woman who sold her to Ann Elizabeth, who lives in John Pereira's (a district of Black-Town).

* This witness having died since the inquiry, there appears no occasion for the omission of his name.

Q. Who is Ann Elizabeth? *A.* An Indo-Portuguese woman.

Q. How did you become acquainted with your wife? *A.* As my father had a great deal to do as catechist, and was getting infirm, he desired me to help him: and I was employed by him to teach her the principles of Christianity. When she was sufficiently instructed, she was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, and I afterwards married her.

Q. Of what Caste or class was she before baptism? *A.* She was of the Pariah class.

Q. Are there differences between persons of the Pariah class? *A.* No, all Pariahs are the same.

Q. Of what class are barbers, chucklers, toties, and washmen? *A.* They are the lowest kind of Pariahs.

Q. Then how are all Pariahs the same? *A.* I mean they are all the same if they are Christians.

Q. Are there any Christian barbers, chucklers, toties, or washmen? *A.* No, I never saw any.

Q. If a barber becomes a Christian, does he continue a barber? *A.* No, we make him a gardener, or some similar trade.

Q. Why may not a barber continue a barber after conversion? *A.* Because that is a mean business.

Q. Supposing a person of one of these lowest trades determines to continue a barber, chuckler, toty, or washman, as the case may be, and gives notice of this before baptism, would you permit him to be baptized? *A.* Yes, but we would not eat with him, nor give him our daughter in marriage, if he continued in either of those trades.

Q. Have you in your school boys of different Castes or classes? *A.* I have Heathens, Moor boys, and Pariah Christian boys; but no Tamul boys.

Q. Are any of the Heathen boys Caste boys? *A.* No. They are all Pariahs.

Q. Do Tamul boys attend any of the Mission schools? *A.* Yes, they attend the Black-Town school.

Q. Do Pariah boys attend the same school, and are they classed with the others? *A.* Yes; Tamul, Pariah, Heathen, and Moor boys all sit together.

Q. Why are the Tamul boys sent to that school in particular? Do they go to any other? *A.* I do not know; I have only seen them at that school.

Q. Who is the master of that school? *A.* Jesudasen, a country-born man.

Q. Are you sure that he is a country-born man: is he not a native? *A.* He dresses now like a country-born man, but he was a native Tamulen, or Malabar man.

Q. Does the change of dress alone occasion a change or loss of the Caste? *A.* Yes, he loses Caste by his change of dress.

Q. If a Caste man joins the army, and assumes the dress of a British sepoy, does he lose Caste? *A.* No, because he does not wear the hat.

Q. What is there in the hat to occasion the loss of Caste? *A.* I do not know. (The reason assigned by the interpreter, who was present, is, that the lining consists of a piece of leather, which is considered an unclean substance by Hindoos.)

Q. Will the Tamul Christians admit Jesudasen into their houses?

A. No, they will drive him away. Besides, he has married a Pariah woman.

Q. Is that the reason why they will not admit him? *A.* That is perhaps one reason; but he has also changed his clothes, and he eats with Pariahs.

Q. If a Tamul Christian has a child to send to school, will he send him to one where the master is a Pariah? *A.* Yes, he will.

Q. Are there many Tamul Christians in the Vepery Mission? *A.* Yes, there are about sixty or seventy families.

Q. Do all these families send their children to the Black-Town school? *A.* No, some go to the Mission Tope school.

Q. Have you ever seen them at the Mission Tope school? *A.* Yes.

Q. What is the master of the Mission Tope school? *A.* His name is Jaganathen, and he is a Tamul Christian.

Q. Will Tamul Christians send their children to be taught by a Pariah Christian? *A.* Yes, perhaps they will if the Master is clever.

Q. Do you know any instance of their doing so? *A.* No, I do not.

Q. Had you ever a Tamul boy in your own school? *A.* When I first began my school I had one Sudra boy.

Q. Was he a Christian boy? *A.* No, he was a Heathen. I never had a Christian Tamul boy.

···· ···· *is examined.*

Q. Do you speak English? *A.* No. (Is examined through an interpreter.)

Q. What is your name? *A.* ·········

Q. What does that word signify? *A.* ·········.

Q. Are you employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* Yes; I am the schoolmistress of the ········· female school.

Q. How long have you been so employed? *A.* I have been at this school for about sixteen years; before that I was employed in a similar capacity for two years by Mr. Crisp, and for two years previously by Mr. Rhenius.

Q. Are you married? *A.* I am a widow.

Q. What was your husband's occupation? *A.* He was a ·········; but afterwards he became sick and had no employment: he then became dependent upon my earnings.

Q. Was he a Christian by birth? *A.* Yes.

Q. Have you been long a widow? *A.* My husband died about three months ago, his name was ········· and ·········.

Q. Are you a Christian by birth? *A.* Yes.

Q. How long had you been married? *A.* For thirty-six years. I am now fifty years old.

Q. Of what Caste are you? *A.* I am a Tamulen. My husband was the same.

Q. What description of girls attend your school? *A.* Tamul and Pariah Christian girls; but no Heathens nor Mussulmanees.

Q. Do the Tamul and Pariah girls all sit together indiscriminately? *A.* Yes, they do.

Q. How many of each kind have you? *A.* About twenty Tamul and ten Pariah girls; about thirty in all.

Q. Do you know any other school to which the Tamul female children of the Vepery Mission go to be educated? *A.* Mine is the only school supported by the Mission which they attend; and indeed I know no other school at all to which they go.

Q. Would you eat and drink with Pariah women? *A.* No.

Q. Do you observe the rules and customs of your Caste as all other Tamul Christians do? *A.* Yes.

Q. Would you allow a Pariah woman to enter your house. *A.* No.

Q. Would you feel offended if a Pariah woman seated herself beside you in the church? *A.* No. I know no difference in the church.

Q. Have you any family? *A.* I have only one, a son about twenty years old, married.

Q. Is it usual to treat widows with less respect than women having husbands living? *A.* Yes, some difference is usually made.

Q. What difference? *A.* A widow is not so freely spoken to by the men; and she cannot be so well or gaily dressed; and being dependent upon the rest of the family, she must endeavour to serve and please them all.

Q. Are not the Tamul Christian women married when very young? *A.* Not before they are marriageable: they sometimes marry at twelve or thirteen years of age.

Q. Are they not then, by the early death of their husbands, in such cases, sometimes rendered widows at a very early age? *A.* That is according to the will of God.

Q. Are such young widows allowed to marry again? *A.* Yes; and if their families are very rich, they sometimes do.

Q. Do you know any instance of the re-marriage of widows in the Vepery Mission? *A.* Yes, there are several; my own husband's sister married a second time; she was married to a widower.

Q. Are the re-marriages of widows generally considered proper and respectable by the native Christians? *A.* I do not know what other people think; but I think them very proper, and not wrong; because if widows were never allowed to marry again, they would generally become corrupted and debauched.

Q. Do not, however, these re-marriages take place very seldom? *A.* Yes, very seldom.

Q. Then is it actually the case that the young widows generally become corrupted and debauched? *A.* (With a sigh.) It may be so.

Q. Do you then believe, from what you know of them, that the state of morality amongst the young Christian widows is very low? *A.* I do not pretend to know positively, but I do suspect that it is.

········· *is examined.*

Q. Do you speak English? *A.* No. (Is examined by an interpreter.)

Q. What is your name? *A.* ·········.

Q. Is that your baptismal name? *A.* Yes. I was baptized when I was ten days old.

Q. What is the meaning of the word ·········? *A.* Almighty, Head or Lord of the world: I am ashamed to give its meaning. It means the Supreme Being.

Q. Is it not the name of a Hindoo idol? *A.* Yes.

Q. How long have your family been Christians? *A.* For three generations.

Q. How long have you been employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* My first employment was that of a writer of Tamul Tracts. I was employed by Mr. Rhenius, of the Church Mission. Afterwards, when Mr. Rhenius was going to Palamcotta, he recommended me, as an intelligent and useful young man, to Mr. Haubroe, of Vepery, who employed me for six months in writing useful Tamul Cards for the schools. About that time one of Dr. Rottler's writers, whom he employed in copying his Dictionary, died of cholera, and Mr. Haubroe strongly recommended me for the situation, which I filled for twenty-six and a half years, until the manuscript of the Dictionary was finished. Afterwards I was employed to teach Tamul in the English school at ········ for a year and a half, when Mr. S. discharged me in order to find employment for his own Moonshee. The catechist, who was a relation of the Moonshee, complained against me to Mr. S., and I was turned away. I applied to Mr. Spring, the Secretary of the Society, and Mr. Harper and Mr. Spring told me to go to ········, a village about thirty miles from Madras, as a schoolmaster. I stayed there four months, and then, by the order of Mr. Spring and the Committee, I was recalled by the Rev. Mr. Taylor to Vepery, and employed there as Inspector of Tamul schools. Mr. S. was then gone to ········. I filled my situation for about six months, and then I was made schoolmaster of the ········ school, where I have continued ever since teaching Tamul and Country-born boys.

Examination of ········ continued.

Q. Do you teach no other than Tamul and Country-born boys? *A.* I teach Tamul Christians, Mahometans, Sudra, Heathen, Country-born, and Pariah boys.

Q. Why do you mention Pariahs last? *A.* For no particular cause.

Q. Are they not quite as good as Sudras, Heathens, and Tamul Christians, and the others? *A.* Yes.

Q. How many Christian Pariahs have you in the school? *A.* About fifteen.

Q. How many Heathen Pariahs? *A.* About nine.

Q. How many boys in the school altogether? *A.* Fifty.

Q. Do all these boys sit together without reference to Caste? *A.* Yes.

Q. Do the Pariah boys not sit by themselves? *A.* No.

Q. Do the Tamul Christian and Pariah Christian boys sit close together? *A.* Yes.

Q. Is there any other Mission school near Vepery church? *A.* Yes, there is one at Pariahmetto, about three-quarters of a mile distant, and another at Persewaukum, about equally distant.

Q. Are Tamul boys educated in either of those schools? *A.* No, not one.

Q. Why so? *A.* There are no Tamul inhabitants in those neighbourhoods.

Q. Do you belong to any Caste yourself? *A.* I am a Christian.

Q. Are there no Castes amongst native Christians? *A.* Christians

have no Caste. Before Bishop Wilson's time they had such distinctions, but now they have not.

Q. What do you mean, then, by speaking of Tamul Christian boys and Pariah Christian boys? *A.* Those terms were not first given by me, but they have been customarily used for a long time.

Q. Do Tamul Christian boys differ from Pariah Christian boys? *A.* I cannot comprehend the difference.

Q. Do you call yourself a Tamul Christian or a Pariah Christian? *A.* A Tamul Christian.

Q. Is one considered more respectable than the other? *A.* Yes, but not in the church.

Q. By the word "church," do you mean the mere *building*, in which Christians assemble for divine worship; or, the *congregation of faithful people* who believe in Christ? *A.* I mean the congregation.

Q. Do you mean to state, then, that there is no difference between the members of that congregation, whether in the building, or out of the building? *A.* I mean in the building: there is a difference out of the building.

Q. Within the building do they all sit together, Tamulens and Pariahs, indiscriminately? *A.* (The witness here professes to describe the manner in which they sit in Vepery church. A rough plan of the church was sketched upon a slate and explained to him. He then stated that the Tamul Christians sat upon the north side; and then that the Pariah Christians sat there too; and was careful not to point out any spot as occupied by Tamulens, without immediately afterwards placing Pariahs with them. He agreed with some preceding witnesses in placing the Tamul catechists near the reading-desk, and the Pariah catechists near the pulpit; and also in placing the school children in the centre. He then paused, as having nothing to add. When he was reminded that he had said nothing of the south side of the church, he seemed a little embarrassed; but suddenly said, that that side was occupied in the same way as the north, by Tamulens and Pariahs together. He then proceeded to say) Mr. Taylor has endeavoured to induce all to sit indiscriminately: but the Tamul Christians object to it.

Q. Why do they object? *A.* From time immemorial the Pariahs have been considered inferior; and, until now, that difference has been kept up between them and the Tamul Christians.

Q. You say, from time immemorial; is the introduction of Christianity into this part of the country so ancient as that term implies? *A.* No; but this distinction existed before that, and afterwards.

Q. Then it existed in the time of Heathenism, and was introduced from Heathenism into Chuistianity? *A.* Yes.

Q. Then is it not a Heathenish custom, a remnant of Heathenism? *A.* It is impossible for me to answer that question.

Q. Do you believe in Christ? *A.* Yes, I should not be a Christian if I did not.

Q. Do you believe Christ to be God? *A.* Yes.

Q. Then what Christ commands, you believe to be right; and what he forbids, to be wrong? *A.* Yes.

Q. Is Caste in accordance with the commands and religion of Christ? *A.* Certainly not: after we are Christians we cannot have Caste.

Q. Why then do you and other Tamul Christians observe Caste? *A.* In what respect do I observe Caste?

Q. Would you permit a Pariah Christian to enter your house and sit down with you? *A.* No, I would not; but I would go into his.

Q. Would you partake of bread or rice with a Pariah Christian? *A.* In all things excepting eating with them, or intermarrying, I would hold intercourse with them.

Q. Then, by your own confession, you do observe Caste? *A.* I do not observe it so much as other Tamul Christians do.

Q. In what respect do you observe it less? *A.* I permit Pariah Christians to come into the entrance of my house, which the others do not.

Q. If a Pariah Christian came into your house, what harm would he do? *A.* There is no necessity for his coming in.

Q. Would you think your house polluted by his coming in? *A.* No. Last month I admitted a Pariah Christian Doctor into my house, to see my two children who were sick with the cholera.

Q. If a Pariah native Clergyman officiated in the Vepery church, would you go to hear him? *A.* I would go, but the others would not.

Q. When the Rev. N. Parenjody officiated, did you go? *A.* I did not. I was sick at that time. That was the reason why I was not there.

Q. Do you know the Rev. John Devasagayam, of the Church Mission? *A.* Yes.

Q. Would you eat with him? *A.* No, I would not.

Q. Would you not eat with one of Christ's Ministers? *A.* I should be expelled from the Tamul community if I did; but I would do such a thing, if provision for myself and my family were secured to us during our lives.

········· *is examined.*

Q. What is your name? *A.* ·········.

Q. Have you any other name? *A.* My names are ·········.

Q. What does ········· mean? *A.* ·········.

Q. Can you speak English? *A.* Not very well. (Is assisted by the interpreter.)

Q. How long have you been employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* I have been employed in that Mission ten years; and I was employed for nine years previously in the Church Mission.

Q. How old are you? *A.* I am thirty-seven years old.

Q. Are you a Christian by birth? *A.* Yes, my family for four generations have been Christians. I was baptized when a child.

Q. What was your father? *A.* He was a butler in the employ of Mr. C.

Q. Was Mr. C. connected with the Church Mission? *A.* No, he belonged to the Vepery Mission, and so did my father. There was no Church Mission here then.

Q. What school did you go to? *A.* To Mr. Sawyer's school at Peramboor.

Q. Was not Mr. Sawyer a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society? *A.* Yes.

Q. If your father belonged to the Vepery Mission, why did you go to

the Church Mission school? *A.* I used to attend another school that was near my own house, until Mr. Sawyer came there; and after seeing the boys and hearing them read, he told me to come to his school.

Q. How long were you in Mr. Sawyer's school, and how old were you when you entered it? *A.* I was eighteen when I entered it, and twenty-one when I left it. I was there three years.

Q. What did you do after leaving that school? *A.* I became an assistant schoolmaster in a Church Mission School.

Q. How long did you remain there? *A.* Two years; and afterwards the Rev. Mr. Schaffter appointed me to teach the other schoolmasters the proper system of teaching.

Q. How long were you so employed? *A.* Seven months: after which I was made a schoolmaster by Mr. Blackman, and so continued for three years. My school was then abolished for want of funds. But I was sent to be schoolmaster of the female school at ·········, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Blackman and ·········; I continued in that situation for one year. I voluntarily resigned that situation, because I had to go great distances to collect the children and bring them to school, and I found this a task of great labour and difficulty. I was next made master of the school near ·········, where I remained for one year, when that school was abolished for want of funds.

Q. What did you do next? *A.* It was proposed to me by the Rev. Mr. Tucker, that I should go to Palamcotta as a catechist; but I did not go. After some time, finding no employment, I applied to Bishop Corrie, who gave me a note to the Rev. Mr. C., of the Vepery Mission; and from that time I have been employed in that Mission as a schoolmaster.

Q. To what Caste do you belong? *A.* I am a Christian. I recognise no Caste. I am of no Caste.

Q. Would you object to eat with a Christian washman or barber? *A.* No, I would not object if he were a Christian.

Q. Even if he still continued in that trade? *A.* That would make no difference to me, if he were a Christian.

Q. Have you any Tamul boys in your school? *A.* I had some both Christian and Heathen Tamul boys in my school, three or four years ago: but on the opening of another school in a neighbouring street, by a Heathen Tamul man, they were all gradually removed to that, Christians and Heathens alike.

Q. Under whose influence was that school opened? *A.* That of Mr. Scudder and Mr. Winslow, the American Missionaries.

Q. To what school do the Tamul Christians of the Vepery Mission generally send their children? *A.* To the Tope school, the master of which is Jaganathen, a Tamul Christian.

Q. Judging from your own experience, do you think the Tamul Christians prefer a Heathen Tamulen to a Christian Pariah schoolmaster for their children? *A.* My experience induces me to believe that they would prefer the Heathen Tamulen.

Q. Do you know of any Tamul Christian children under Pariah schoolmasters at the present time? *A.* Yes, there are some in the Black-Town school, under Jesudasen; but Jesudasen was formerly a Sudra. Even there, there are no Protestant Tamul children; they are all Romanists.

Q. Will the Tamul Christians admit you to eat in their houses? *A.* They will not in the present day: but I have heard that they did admit Pariah Christians to eat with them in the time of my grandfather. My cousin, who is now about eighty years of age, informs me that he has been admitted to eat with them in their houses.

Q. Will a Tamul Christian eat in a Pariah's house? *A.* Not now. But I have heard that formerly they would take coffee and bread there, but not rice.

Q. What was the reason for this distinction? *A.* The Heathen Caste people would not have had any intercourse with them if they had eaten the rice.

Q. Are you married? and if so, what is your wife? *A.* I am married. My wife, when a child, was given by her mother to Mrs. Keys, the mistress of the Black-Town Asylum, and was brought up by her in the Asylum.

Q. If a barber or washman becomes a Christian, may he continue in his former trade? *A.* Yes, he may.

Q. Do you know of any instance of such an occurrence? *A.* I do not personally. But I believe there are instances at Tranquebar and in Tanjore.

Q. Would such persons, having become Christians, but continuing in those trades, be admitted to associate with all other Pariah Christians? *A.* I know of no cause for objection. But I do not know what is actually done at Tanjore and Tranquebar.

Q. Do the Tamul and Pariah Christians sit together in Vepery church? *A.* No, the Tamul women occupy the north-west end of the church. The Tamul men sit at the north side, and the Pariahs and their families on the south side. The Tamul catechists and schoolmasters sit in front of the reading-desk, and the Pariah catechists and schoolmasters in front of the pulpit. The school children sit in the middle of the church, Tamul and Pariahs together. The men sit by themselves, and the women by themselves.

Q. At the Lord's supper do the Tamul and Pariah Christians present themselves at the table together, and indiscriminately? *A.* Yes, but the Tamul Christians try to take the first places.

Q. Do men and women present themselves together? *A.* No; the men go first, and the women afterwards. The Tamul and Pariah women go together: but the Tamul women try to take the first places.

Q. Do you know the Rev. N. Parenjody? *A.* Yes.

Q. To what Caste or class does he belong? *A.* He is a Pariah; but as he comes, I believe, from Trichinopoly, I do not know his parentage.

Q. Do you remember his officiating in Vepery church? *A.* No: I remember his coming to the church, but he did not officiate.

Q. Did you ever hear that the Tamul Christians objected to his officiating there? *A.* No, I am not aware that they did.

Q. Do they entertain any objection to the service being performed by Pariah catechists or Priests? *A.* I do not know of any instance in which they have actually offered objection; but I think it very probable that if such a thing were done by a Pariah, they would object to it.

Q. Merely because he was a Pariah? *Q.* Yes, merely because he was a Pariah.

Q. As you know of no instance of the kind, upon what do you found your opinion? *A*. Because I know that they consider Pariahs unclean, and of a low Caste.

········· *is called and examined.*

Q. Can you speak English? *A*. No. (Examined through an interpreter.)

Q. What is your name? *A*. ·········.

Q. Are you known by any other name? *A*. Yes, ·········.

Q. Were you baptized by those two names? *A*. ········· is my baptismal name, ········· was the name of my father.

Q. Is it usual thus to prefix the father's name to the baptismal name? *A*. Yes.

Q. What is the meaning of the word ·········? *A*. ·········.

Q. How long have you been a Christian? *A*. From my infancy. My father and grandfather were Christians. I was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Fabricius. I am sixty-three years old.

Q. How long have you been employed in the Mission? *A*. I was appointed a schoolmaster by Mr. Gerické in 1801. In 1804, I was made assistant catechist by the Rev. Dr. Rottler. I was made a catechist by Dr. Rottler in 1810. I have been constantly employed, until in 1841 I was pensioned on six rupees per month, in consequence of my having been sick for several months, and being unable to work. About five months ago I was requested by the Rev. Mr. Taylor to officiate as catechist at ·········, and am still so officiating. I receive my pension, and six rupees additional for my present services.

Q. Are you a Tamulen? *A*. No.

Q. Do you belong to any Caste? *A*. I am a Pariah; but of a high Caste, or of the first class amongst Pariahs.

Q. Would you enter the houses of low Caste Christian or Heathen Pariahs? *A*. If they were Christians I would; if they were Heathens I would not.

Q. Why would you not? *A*. We have no intermarriages, nor any intercourse, with low Caste Heathens.

Q. Would you intermarry or hold intercourse with low Caste Christians? *A*. There has been no instance of such intermarriage; but I do not object to intercourse with them; nor to eat with them, if good men. But the low Caste Pariah Christian would be afraid to invite me to eat with him, because his trade is a low one.

Q. What are the trades followed by the low Caste Pariahs? *A*. Washmen, chucklers, barbers, and toties.

Q. What are the trades or occupations of the first class Pariah Christians? *A*. All other trades excepting those just named. They are catechists, schoolmasters, dubashes, butlers, maties, cooks, gardeners, &c.

Q. Can a person of one of these trades pass to another? Can, for instance, a barber become a washman, or a maty a dubash? *A*. No; he cannot change his class or trade.

Q. Can the *son* of a barber become a washman, or the *son* of a maty become a dubash? *A*. No. They cannot.

Q. Can intermarriages take place between the several trades? *A*. All those of the first class may intermarry, and will eat together: but those

of the low class may not do so, either with those of the first class, or with the other trades amongst themselves. (Here the witness states that in Madras there are no Christians of the low class Pariahs.)

Q. If there were any low class Pariah Christians in Madras, would you object to enter their houses, or to eat with them? *A.* I would not. Nor even to intermarry with them.

Q. If a low Caste Heathen Pariah desired you to read the Bible to him, would you object to enter his house for that purpose? *A.* If he asked me to do so, I would go.

Q. Has such a case ever occurred to you? *A.* Yes; two toties and three washmen, all Heathens, have invited me to read the Scriptures to them in their last moments; and on each occasion I went into the man's house and read to him. I would not object to eat with washmen, chucklers, barbers, or toties, if they became Christians.

Q. Would they continue in those trades if they became Christians? *A.* No. We would not allow them to do so, but would give them other trades; either a gardener's, cook's, or maty's, or some other of the better class.

Q. If the toty or washman insisted on retaining his trade after becoming a Christian, what would be done? *A.* There is no instance of such a thing, within my knowledge, to enable me to answer that question. It is a serious question.

Q. Are there not some Christians who hold Caste in a way different from that you have described? *A.* Yes. There are the Tamul Christians who do so.

Q. In what does that difference consist? *A.* They would not admit me into their houses, nor eat with me, nor intermarry. I think Caste is not scriptural.

Q. If these persons meet you in the street, do they greet you as a fellow-Christian? *A.* I must first salute them, and then they would return it. But, whether older or younger than I am, they would not take any notice of me unless I first saluted them. I must not approach near them, but stand four or five feet off from them.

Q. Do they permit any nearer approach in the church? *A.* Yes, I may approach nearer in the church; but if I touched them they would draw back because I am a Pariah.

Q. Do Tamul and Pariah Christians present themselves together at the sacrament of the Lord's supper? *A.* Yes, they do; and there, they eat from the same plate and drink from the same cup indiscriminately.

Q. Are the children of Tamul and Pariah Christians baptized at the same time? *A.* Yes; and a Tamul Christian will become sponsor for the child of a Pariah, if asked. He would not volunteer to do so. But the Tamul Christians would not allow a Pariah to become sponsor for a Tamul child.

The examination of ········ is continued.

Q. What customs are observed by the Pariah Christians at the birth of a child? *A.* There is no peculiar custom or ceremony observed; but so soon as the mother can go out, she repairs to the church, where she is "churched;" and the child is always baptized, if possible, within forty days of its birth.

Q. What are your customs at the baptism of a child? *A*. If the parents are rich, or in good circumstances, it is usual for them to entertain their personal friends and the sponsors.

Q. Have they music or similar entertainment on such occasions? *A*. They sometimes sing Psalms themselves: but this is as they please.

Q. You said that a Tamul Christian will become sponsor for a Pariah child, if asked: would he, on such an occasion, be invited to the entertainment, and would he go? *A*. He would be invited, but he would refuse to come. He would never come to our houses on any occasion.

Q. Would any Pariah Christians, without reference to class, be invited? *A*. Yes, certainly.

Q. At the marriages of native Pariah Christians, what customs are observed? *A*. The parents of the man ask the consent of those of the woman. The principals do nothing in the matter. The whole is arranged by the parents.

Q. At what age does marriage usually take place? *A*. The young men generally marry when about twenty-two years old: the young women when about fifteen or sixteen.

Q. When the marriage contract is agreed on by the parents, is any custom or ceremony observed? *A*. They present betel-nut to each other, as a pledge of mutual good faith.

Q. What time usually elapses between this contract and the actual marriage? *A*. When the parties are in good circumstances, the banns are published, and the marriage celebrated, without delay. If the parties are poor, the matter is deferred until they have saved money enough to defray the usual expenses.

Q. In this interval are the young people permitted to see or talk with each other? *A*. No: the bridegroom may not see the bride until the day of the marriage.

Q. Are they, at any time, permitted to refuse to fulfil the contract? *A*. Yes. Sometimes the young people do refuse to marry the persons thus chosen by their parents; but this happens very seldom.

Q. Is any ceremony observed between the days of contract and marriage? *A*. No.

Q. On the marriage-day what customs are observed? *A*. The bridegroom and bride are dressed in new clothes; and, at an hour agreed on, they go, in separate bullock bandies, to the church. Their friends are invited to attend; and, after the celebration of the marriage by the Clergyman, the newly-married couple go, in the same bandy, to the house of the bride. If they are rich, they have music, but not otherwise. The only music used is the "fiddle." The bride's parents entertain the guests with rice, curry, and fruit; and afterwards distribute betel-nut. Those who do not wish to stay for the curry and rice, have their betel-nut at once, and go away. In the evening the bridegroom takes the bride to his house; and he entertains the guests there in the same manner. The party breaks up at eight or nine o'clock.

Q. Does any ceremony take place on any subsequent day? *A*. Yes; within one month after the marriage, the parents of the bride give an entertainment to the bridegroom and bride and their friends; and present new clothes to the newly-married couple. On this occasion all previous agreements on the subject of dowry are fulfilled, by all parties, in the presence of witnesses.

Q. Are the customs of the Tamul Christians similar to these? *A.* I cannot say. I never saw their ceremonies. They would not admit me into their houses.

Q. What customs are observed at the deaths of Pariah Christians? *A.* Notice of the decease is immediately sent to the Clergyman. The body, excepting the head, is sewn up in white linen, and placed in the *thoomba*, which is a kind of bier railed round the four sides, and having a semi-circular cover. The catechist attends at the house, consoles the family, and prays with them. The friends and neighbours of the deceased, Protestant, Romanist, and Heathen, are informed of the death, and invited, in a general way, to attend the funeral; which they usually do.

Q. Is any ceremony usual at this time? *A.* The people who are going to the funeral assemble at the deceased's house, when coffee is offered to them, and sometimes cheroots. When all is ready, they proceed to the burial-ground, where they are met by the Clergyman, who reads the Burial Service. If the Clergyman is absent, the catechist officiates.

Q. After the body has been buried, what is done? *A.* The friends then return to the house, and, having again partaken of coffee or cheroots, they separate.

Q. May a widower marry again? *A.* Yes, if he desires to do so.

Q. May a widow marry again? *A.* As soon as her husband is dead, the widow's *talee* is broken by some of her female relations. The *talee* is a small golden ornament, suspended round the neck by a string or small cord. It answers the same purpose as the wedding-ring amongst Europeans. After a time the widow may marry again.

Q. Do they often do so? No, not often. I know of only five instances.

Q. Why do they so seldom re-marry? *A.* The men do not generally like to marry widows.

Q. Is there no other reason? *A.* The community generally do not think it respectable.

Q. If the widow does not marry again, what becomes of her? *A.* She maintains herself by her own labour as she can; and she is sometimes helped by her own relations.

Q. Is this custom of discountenancing the re-marriage of widows found to produce any ill moral effects? *A.* Sometimes young widows misconduct themselves; in which case we advise them, and take written agreements from them and the men who have sinned with them, so as to secure their better behaviour for the future. If the man is unmarried, and the offence is committed by him more than twice, we compel him to marry the woman.

Q. How can you compel him to marry? *A.* We forgive the offence twice; but oblige him to give the agreements I have mentioned. And in those agreements is one article, by which he binds himself to marry the woman if he sins with her a third time. It is by this article of his agreement that we can and do compel him to marry her.

Q. Were any of the five marriages of widows, of which you know, brought about by these means? *A.* Yes, all those five widows were married in this way.

are? *A.* Yes; and the Heathen people have spoken to me often about it. They say that the Christians do not love one another.

Q. Do the Tamul Christians in the Church Mission observe Caste as strictly as the Vepery Tamulens do? *A.* Yes.

Q. Do the Tamul Christians observe any Heathen customs at their baptisms, marriages, or funerals? *A.* We do not know; for we do not attend them; they never invite us.

Q. Do they ever invite Heathens? *A.* Yes, they do, to baptisms and marriages; but I do not know whether they go to funerals.

Q. Then they invite Caste *Heathens*, while Pariah *Christians* would not be permitted to enter their houses? *A.* Yes. They would treat the Caste Heathens with great respect, and the Pariah Christians with contempt.

Q. Would they treat the Pariah catechist with respect? *A.* Lest he should complain to the Missionary, they would admit him, perhaps, into the entrance, but not into the interior, of their houses; but they would keep him at a distance from them.

Q. Why would they keep him at a distance? *A.* Merely because he is a Pariah. It is a custom of the Heathens.

Q. Would these Protestant Tamulens admit a Christian native Priest, who had renounced Caste, into their houses? *A.* They would perhaps admit him; but they would not treat him with the same love as if he held Caste. They would consider him polluted.

Q. Would they attend to hear him officiate in the church? *A.* I remember hearing the Rev. N. Parenjody read the lessons once in Vepery church, and some of them went out: and after the service was over, I heard them all murmuring about it. They did not like a man of no Caste to be placed over them, or to preach to them.

Q. When the Rev. John Devasagayam was here the other day, did not he officiate in the Church Mission chapel, and did not the Tamulens there attend? *A.* I do not attend that chapel; but I have heard that he did officiate, and that the Tamulens did attend. But there are only a few of them there; and most of them, more or less, depend on Mr. T······'s or Mr. E······'s favour.

········· *is examined.*

Q. Can you speak English? *A.* No. (Is examined through an interpreter.)

Q. What is your name? *A.* ·········.

Q. What does ········· signify? *A.* It means ·········.

Q. How are you employed in the Vepery Mission? *A.* I am schoolmistress at ·········.

Q. Have you been long thus employed? *A.* Yes, since 1831.

Q. Are you married, and is your husband living? *A.* Yes; and my husband, whose name is ·········, is a ··· ····· by occupation.

Q. Is yours a female school? *A.* Yes.

Q. Where were you educated yourself? *A.* At Tranquebar.

Q. How came you to be selected for your present occupation? *A.* Having come to Madras with my husband, I heard, about the time I have mentioned, that a person was wanted to keep a female school under

the Mission. I offered my services, which were engaged accordingly by the Rev. Mr. Irion.

Q. Were you born of Christian parents? *A.* My grandfather was a Christian; but my father was not so until just before his death.

Q. When were you baptized? *A.* In my childhood, as I have always understood.

Q. Was your mother a Christian? *A.* No; she died when I was very young.

Q. How old were you when your father died? *A.* He died about six years after my marriage. I was perhaps twenty or twenty-one years old.

Q. Then, if your parents were both Heathens during the whole time of your childhood, how do you know that you were baptized in your infancy, or indeed that you have been baptized at all? *A.* I have been told by my grandfather that I was baptized in my infancy.

Q. Was your husband a Christian when you married him? *A.* Yes.

Q. Does your husband belong to any Caste? *A.* No, he is a Pariah.

Q. Then are you also a Pariah? *A.* Yes, and so were my father and mother.

Q. Do any Tamulen children attend your school? *A.* When I first took charge of the school there were two Heathen Tamul girls in it; but they soon went away, and since that I have had none but Pariah girls.

Q. Do any Tamul Christians live in the neighbourhood of your school? *A.* No.

Q. Where do the Tamul girls of the Mission go to school? *A.* Some of them go to the ········· school.

Q. Who is the mistress of that school? *A.* ·········.

Q. Of what Caste is she? *A.* She is a Tamul Christian.

Q. Amongst the native Christians, are widows generally treated with kindness and respect? *A.* Speaking from what I know and have seen myself, I think they are treated more kindly than those women whose husbands are alive.

Q. Do you sit beside the Tamul women in the church? *A.* No; excepting at the sacrament. If I sat down beside a Tamul woman at the ordinary service, she would quarrel with me; and the other Tamul women would join in it. I remember an instance of this very kind occurring.

Q. Does this observance of Caste by the Tamul Christians lead to an ill-feeling between the Pariah Christians and themselves? *A.* Yes, it does; but it cannot be helped.

Q. Will you explain why you think it cannot be helped? *A.* I mean that they cannot be compelled by force to associate with us.

Q. When young women are married, are they allowed to choose their own husbands? *A.* Yes, they do: when the young man and woman have agreed together, the parents of the young man make application, at his request, to those of the young woman.

Q. But are not young women, generally, disposed of in marriage by their parents, without any such previous concert between the young people themselves? *A.* I do not think that is often done. If either of the young people objected to the marriage arranged by the parents, it would be disagreeable.

Q. Then there are cases in which the parents alone arrange the marriage? *A.* Yes, there are cases; but they lead to a great deal of disagreeable quarrellings in families.

IV.

A DISCUSSION ON CASTE IN THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S INSTITUTION, MADRAS, ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25TH, AND FOLLOWING DAYS.*

THE excellent addresses now to be recorded, were delivered in the English language by *four Tamul young* men in the Free Church of Scotland Institution, and well deserve attention, as the authors were thoroughly acquainted with the system; and they distinctly enunciate the long-disputed fact, (by those who did not understand the subject,) that Caste is decidedly *religious* in its character, and that it is *this* which gives authority to its usages in civil life.

I requested permission of the Rev. John Anderson, the Senior Missionary, to publish the addresses referred to; and I here subjoin his reply:—

MY DEAR BROTHER,

HERE are all the "Native Heralds" on Caste; take them, and *use them as you please.* There are six numbers. Thanks for your General Report, which I will return shortly.

A real exposition of Caste and its effects, by the native converts who have broken Caste, might *do good, if printed in England.*

My dear brother,

Affectionately yours,

JOHN ANDERSON.

Madras, August 21st, 1846.
To the Rev. J. Roberts.

Discussion on the 25th of November, 1845.

I HAVE been called upon, (the Rev. John Anderson said,) in the providence of God, by a Christian friend, who is watching the progress of the two armies now at war in India,—Satan's on the one side, and Christ's on the other,—to call your attention to the subject of Caste. To have sound scriptural views of Caste is of great consequence to you, to your country, to every one of your parents, and not less so to the native Christians, who are so fond of clinging to Caste, that, while they profess to have put away all that is Heathenish and religious in it, they still retain Caste under the name of a *civil distinction;* as if they were so enamoured of the serpent, that

* From the "Madras Native Herald."

they shall have at least the slough, that is, that they shall have the slough of Caste, and shall call it *civil*. It is pitiful; it hinders Christian brotherly love. As long as a Hindu retains any of the marks of Satan, either for the sake of beauty or honour, or a good situation, or to gain a kind of half-respect from the Heathen, he can never be Christ's full and genuine free man. I would have you to consider how contemptible it is, to call a thing civil which the Heathens will never admit to be so. If the Heathens fully knew the sense in which you native Caste Christians hold Caste, they would look on you with a double feeling of contempt. And it is because you have two faces,—one face to the Heathen, and another to the Christian church,—it is this that makes Christian men pity and pray for you, and mourn over your dissimulation. It is mournful to think of it. I would have you, especially those of you who have been born again, who have broken Caste because you saw it was one of the works of Satan, to stir up your minds vigorously that you may handle this subject as it deserves. You know the subtlety and malignity of Caste, and how it manifests this malignity, just in proportion as discipline is exercised upon it. Like Micah, when robbed of his gods, when he went crying after the Danites, "Ye have taken away my gods," too many of the Hindu Christians, when they lose any advantage, and are called to suffer, feel themselves bereaved, and begin to make complaints, and try to get Missionaries who are not their best friends, however sincere and conscientious they may be in their views, to protect and defend them.

This friend wants information, not for curiosity, but for use; not for controversy, but for instruction; not for the hinderance, but for the advancement, of Christian love, for the solid and real practical benefit of Hindus in general, of Hindu Christians, both those who have kept Caste and those who have broken it, and of the children, the fathers, and the friends of all here present still lying in the chains of Caste.

The following are the five questions which he wishes you to answer:—

I. *Is Caste inseparably connected with Hinduism, or is it not?*

II. *Can Caste with truth be called a civil distinction, chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families?*

III. *Do our native Free Church brethren regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations?*

IV. *Is the idea of pollution in the Hindu mind separable from the system of Caste, or not?*

V. *Can Caste be compared for a moment with the European distinctions in society?*

It is of great importance to attend to these questions, because they bring the mind fully to the point. This question of *Caste* is every day becoming more important. At Bombay, the case of Shripat, a young Brahman who broke his Caste by eating with his brother who had been baptized by our brethren there, has excited a great dispute among the orthodox or bigoted Brahmans and the more liberal party; the orthodox contending that the boy could not be restored, the liberal that he could by undergoing suitable purifications. The matter was at length referred to Benares, and the orthodox Brahmans obtained a decision in their favour. The liberal Brahmans were now in great difficulty, because they had contended that the boy could be received into Caste. The bigoted party were determined to make them suffer, and would not admit them to the full privileges of Brahmans, without an atonement They were ordered to perform the most humiliating ceremonies, and to drink drinks very unpalatable and revolting in order to be purified. Shripat's father is poor, and will not be able to pay the requisite fines for his own purification. The matter is not ended yet. One rich Brahman at Bombay still stands out, and refuses to swallow the five ingredients of the cow. He has a firm at Benares which can be affected by the other Brahmans, and he will probably be obliged to yield, and to swallow the same drinks as the others. At Nagpur, it seems that a Mahomedan *faqueer* has introduced himself among the Hindus, and set up a new religion among them, mingling part of the truth of God with many of the errors so agreeable to the heart of man. He has succeeded in drawing many followers after him, chiefly from among mongrel Brahmans. To such a length have matters gone, that the Rajah has interfered to restore peace and union. The new sect, called Kalankis, had eaten and drunk contrary to the rules of Caste. They ate dry bread together, handing it about to each to mark their equality.

They also formed the representation of a cow of sugar

mixed with mud, and then destroyed it with every indignity, to express their abhorrence of Brahmanism. The Rajah tried to settle the difference, and invited them all to a great entertainment. But *three hundred* withdrew to a temple, and declared that they would neither eat nor drink, but die there, unless the Rajah changed his mind. At last the bigoted party agreed to re-admit all the other Brahmans who had offended, upon their undergoing certain purifying rites; and, to reconcile them to these humiliating atonements, consented to undergo some purificatory rite, just as a mother will swallow a part of the bitter medicine to make her child take the rest. The swallowing in the one case is very profitable; in the other, most humiliating and destructive. Various kinds of atonement have been employed; and the heretical party, who would not submit, have been left in their outcast condition, and are likely to remain outcasts. Though the bigoted Brahmans, both at Bombay and Nagpur, have thus prevailed for the present over the liberal Brahmans, their victory is much more dangerous than if they had quietly soldered the matter up, especially as such discussions tend to open up the way for the Gospel of Christ, by letting in the sharp edge of that wedge of God's word that cleaves asunder the mountains. Then we may expect to hear of the destruction of Hinduism, or at least of its great shakings and convulsions.

I will now ask the questions in succession; and such of you as are prepared will kindly stand up, and give your answers, some of you to-day, and others to-morrow, or the day following.

A. Venkataramiah was then asked to give his *opinion* on the *Five Questions* in their order, and spoke nearly as follows, his answers being taken down in short-hand as he delivered them.

A. VENKATARAMIAH'S ANSWERS TO FIVE QUESTIONS ON CASTE.

I. *Is Caste inseparably connected with Hinduism, or is it not?*

To one who is in any measure acquainted with the standard books of the Hindus, or with their most common and prevailing notions, nothing is plainer than that *Caste* is inseparably connected with Hinduism. Whether we look at those notions as embodied in *Menu* or any other of

their accredited standards, or those notions of Caste which a Hindu receives from his parents, just as he derives his being from them, we see that *Caste* and *religion* are synonymous. For a man to be a *Pariah*, or to be *without religion*, is reckoned to be the same thing.

1. In the Institutes of Menu (Dhurma Shastra) and other standards of the Hindu religion, *Caste* and *religion* are said to have sprung from one and the same source, *the mind of the Supreme Being*. Caste and religion are there represented, not as two streams designed to accomplish two quite distinct and separate purposes, but though two streams, yet so combined as to form one current, to serve, to establish, and to perpetuate one and the same design,—a religious and priestly despotism. When we look at Caste in this way, in the light of the Hindu standard books, we see that it is so closely entwined with every thing that is strictly religious, that I have no hesitation in declaring *Caste to be more than the half of Hinduism*.

2. A man's good character in a religious and moral point of view, and his future destiny, are as much connected with the right and strict observance of Caste, as with the most scrupulous devotional acts of his religion. We know that, according to the simple light of conscience, that which determines a man's character, as a moral being, as well as his future destiny, must be something which is *moral*, and not *civil*. A civil institution can only go so far as to deprive a man of that rank and position in society which he occupies; or, if guilty of a capital offence, of life: but when an institution goes so far as to meddle with his character in a religious and moral point of view, and decides upon moral subjects, we cannot for one moment regard it as purely a civil institution. Caste is, therefore, not a civil institution, because it decides upon moral subjects, and fixes the character and destiny of moral beings, not only in this world, but in the world to come. For we must remember that the Hindu doctrine of the *transmigration of souls* is closely connected with the strict observance of the distinctions of Caste, and we know that the design of this doctrine is to punish those who have violated the precepts of Hinduism. Transmigration into other bodies is believed to be the punishment inflicted by the Creator upon men for moral acts considered as wrong.

3. He that breaks his Caste is as much, nay, much more, regarded as an apostate, than he that simply renounces the religion of his fathers without breaking his Caste. According to the common notion of things, he that violates his religion is more strictly and truly an apostate than he that breaks the laws of society. If we examine Caste by this simple test, we may determine whether or not it is inseparably connected with Hinduism. Suppose I break my Caste, as I have done, by eating with Europeans, or by eating food cooked by a Pariah, I am immediately put out of my Caste, out of my family, out of the community, not because I have despised idolatry and broken the images to pieces, but simply because I have violated the law of Caste. If this be so, and if it be a fact, all those Hindus who have become Christians, and renounced idolatry and Caste in the same act, are looked upon as apostates, not simply because they have renounced their religion, but especially because they have broken their Caste,—can we for a moment doubt that Caste is inseparably connected with the Hindu religion? And again, as Caste stands now in the faith and practice of the Hindus, is it not unquestionably

certain, that a man may safely renounce, even formally, the faith of his fathers, if he do not rudely meddle with Caste, and yet at the same time may not be regarded by the Hindu community as such a thorough apostate and outcast as one who both renounces the Hindu religion and breaks his Caste simultaneously?

4. *He that breaks his Caste is reckoned religiously and morally incapable of performing any religious act whatever, either to his dead parents or to the gods.* Those who are Hindus, and those who know the working of Caste in themselves and in those about them, know that this is a fact. If any Hindu here breaks his Caste as a Heathen and becomes a Pariah, and if his mother die, and he be the eldest son who has broken his Caste in this way, though he should be willing to perform those religious acts to his parent which belong to the eldest son, he will be rejected and put out of the house, and the relation next to him preferred to him. This is done, not because he refuses to acknowledge as gods those which are no gods, nor from his unwillingness to do any of the usual ceremonies, but simply because he has broken the laws of Caste. In proof of what we allege as to the moral and religious disability consequent on breaking Caste, we have a decisive testimony from the principal and most respectable Caste men of the Madras community in their late *Memorial* against the *lex loci*. Clause 8.—"*That the loss of Caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion, is provable from the fact, that the relations of the party coming under its legal penalty are bound to consider his degradation as a moral death; in token of which, the same ceremonies are by them performed on his account, as take place on the celebration of obsequies to the dead.*" On these grounds we cannot but consider that Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism.

I may mention another fact which proves that a man who breaks Caste is considered incapable of performing almost any religious act whatever. The fact came under my own notice. You all know that the *Cheddal* feast* is one of the lowest of all Hindu festivals, and that those who subject themselves to the painful and degrading processes of being either swung up by the back, or of piercing their sides with iron rods, are almost always people of low character and bad morals, vagabonds, despisers of parents, and such like. I knew a person of such character, a liar, a deceiver, and a thief, who subjected himself for some years to have his sides pierced with iron rods. To satisfy his vile lust, this man became a Roman Catholic, married a Roman Catholic girl, and lived for some time with her in the family, who had a Caste of their own as Roman Catholics. He stole the ear-jewels of the grandmother out of the Roman Catholic house, and disappeared for a length of time. About a year after he came back to that same *Cheddal* feast in Madras, and wished to perform his part as on former occasions. After some disputes, those connected with the temple allowed him to take part in the feast; but the whole street rose up against him as one man, declaring that he was utterly unfit, not because he was a thief or a deceiver, but simply because he had become a Roman Catholic, and broken his Caste by eating with the Roman Catholics. They threatened that if he were allowed to engage in the feast, they would break the idols and overturn the whole procession, because he had eaten and

* Sacred to Mare-Ammon, the goddess of small-pox.

drunk with Pariahs. Although they at last so far yielded as to permit him to pierce his sides with iron rods, they did not suffer him to carry on his head the holy pot adorned with flowers. This last act the man would have preferred to the other privilege so reluctantly yielded to him. Here, then, we see how a whole street bore witness to the truth of our proposition, that he who breaks his Caste becomes incapable of performing, in the eyes of Caste people, almost any religious act whatever.

5. The means which are employed to restore one who has lost his Caste are strictly and altogether religious, and are on that account believed to possess a purifying virtue. As far as my knowledge and observation go, I do not know one single instance in which a man was known to have got his tongue burned, or to have been subjected to any other painful penalties, for having spoken against the idols, or having in any way changed his religious opinions. But it is a notorious fact, that those who have violated the laws of Caste in Madras, by eating with Pariahs or Europeans, when they went back to their families and relatives, were subjected to this painful process of burning the tongue, besides being subjected to bathing, to drinking the five ingredients of the cow,* and other ceremonies of a very mean and debasing nature. It will not do, to say that burning the tongue and such things are not moral and religious, that they are merely external, acts. These acts, it is true, are not moral in our view as Christians; but it is not so with the Heathen: for who does not know, that the whole of *purity* in Hinduism consists in externals? What Heathen imagines that moral and religious purity consists in purity of heart and in uprightness of conduct? These external acts and ceremonies are dictated by Hinduism, as fitted to determine and act on the moral and eternal destiny of man; and, as such, the Hindus universally believe them to possess a purifying virtue. This view also establishes, without doubt, that Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism.

II. *Can Caste with truth be called a civil distinction, chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families?*

I will not in this place consider whether Caste be a civil distinction or not. I will take that up afterwards in connexion with the *fifth* question. At present, I will take a view of Caste with reference to its being designed to preserve a family from deterioration.

If the design of Caste be to preserve a family from deterioration, it must be either *physical*, *moral*, or *religious* deterioration. I will not take up *social* deterioration, because the very design of Caste originally was, that each Caste should preserve its own rank and occupation in society, and because Caste, in a social point of view, has become complicated by many changes introduced by a foreign government.

1. *Caste is not designed chiefly to preserve a family from physical deterioration.* First, because such a view is quite foreign to the general scope of the Hindu books, and to the common and prevailing notions and practices of the Hindus. Secondly, there is nothing in the tendency and working of Caste to ameliorate the physical condition of those who are

* That is, milk, butter, curds, urine, ordure, mixed together.

under its debasing bondage; because Caste, in its very design, is to confine intermarriages within each respective section of Caste, be the physical condition and blood of individuals of that section what they may. Thirdly, the prevailing custom of the Hindus on the subject of marriage is quite opposed to such a notion. You all know, when the Hindus contract a marriage, that the chief thing considered is not the physical constitution of the individual, or what hereditary diseases may be in the family: the chief thing inquired into is the character and purity of the Caste, up to the second, and in some cases to the third and fourth, generation. When the relatives of a young man go to find him a wife, the questions they ask at the family to which they apply refer to the character and purity of their Caste, whether it has been contaminated by intermarriages with a lower Caste, on either the father's or mother's side. They very often go upwards to a higher line in order to determine the purity and character of the Caste. And if they find on either side any contamination from intermarriage with a lower Caste, *whatever be the charms of the girl, whatever may be her fortune or good qualities, the marriage contract is effectually prevented.* And if in any case the parents of the young man should be willing to contract the marriage, notwithstanding the inferiority of Caste, the heads of their Caste would altogether discountenance and put down any such union. Therefore, it is not to preserve a family from physical deterioration that the distinction of Caste is observed. Fourthly, as far as my knowledge and observation of Hindu society go, I do not know one instance in which a marriage was contracted with a view to physical amelioration. But, on the contrary, there are instances known to me, in which rich families, rather than forego the advantages of Caste purity and distinction, have given away their sons and daughters in marriage to persons in the same Caste, with the knowledge that there were hereditary diseases or constitutional defects in these families. I knew a family very nearly connected with my own by blood, who had a particular disease, on the side of the mother, or perhaps on both sides, which began to manifest itself at a certain age,—a swelling in the feet as far as the knee; the mother had it, the son and the grandson, and yet it was usual with them to contract marriages with other families affected with the same disease, rather than to give their sons and daughters in any other line.

2. *Since the design of Caste is not to preserve a family from physical deterioration, its design must be to preserve it from moral and religious deterioration.* First, a Hindu cannot marry a woman of a lower Caste, whatever be her accomplishments, attainments, rank, and health, without being immediately disabled from performing those functions which are peculiar to his family, and from maintaining his former position in his family, whether religious or social. The degrees of pollution, according to the notions of the Hindus, increase or diminish, as the distinction of Caste is higher or lower. The Brahman is the holiest, another Caste lower than the Brahman is less holy, and so on down to the Pariah. The Pariah is the least holy: in other words, he is the most polluted. If a man unite with a woman of a Caste lower than his own, he is disabled from performing the funeral ceremonies and *pujahs* peculiar to his family, because he has lost so much of his purity by this marriage connexion. If I put the matter this way, it will commend itself better

to your understandings: Suppose a Brahman, neither learned nor wealthy, contract a marriage with an East-Indian or a Pariah woman who is well taught to read and to understand, and in every way superior to himself, and occupying a place in society far above his own. Though his position and rank are really exalted by this marriage, yet his character and sanctity as a Brahman are gone. He is put out of his family, as one who is degraded and impure. *His mother that bore him will cease to show him her usual regard and kindness, and his own brother will shun his company, and not let him come into the house.* This shows that this deterioration is chiefly moral and religious, according to the notions of the Hindus. Secondly, whatever criminal intercourse a Hindu may be allowed to have with a woman inferior to him in Caste, he will not be permitted to be legally and publicly married to her, and to eat and drink with her, as he would do with a woman equal to him in Caste. It is a notorious fact, that Brahmans and other natives of high Caste, who are looked upon as religious and respectable, are allowed to carry on vile and criminal intercourse with women of lower Castes and bad character. And yet they preserve their Caste identity, and are allowed to perform those duties and religious ceremonies which are peculiar to their Caste. But let a man descend from the height of his Caste distinction, and marry a virtuous and faithful woman of a lower Caste, and eat and drink with her freely as his equal in Caste, and he will call down upon his head the fury of his whole family, and of his whole Caste. If a marriage or a festival were to take place in his house, the great majority of his relatives will refuse to join with him; and if he comes to the marriage of another man, he will lose his place and his privilege of receiving betel and nuts in the order in which he formerly received them. And all this, simply because he has degraded and polluted himself, not with a vile person, but with a virtuous faithful woman of a lower Caste. By this we see clearly that the design of Caste is not to preserve a family from physical, but from moral and religious, deterioration. There is a good number of families in which men, because of the criminal intercourse which they have carried on with women of lower Caste, who are not harlots, have been obliged to take them into their houses. Yet these women are not publicly recognised by them as their wives, nor are they allowed to mingle freely with any of the relatives or friends that come into the house, nor to come to those places where the utensils are kept, the meals taken, and the gods worshipped. What do such things show, but that Caste is mainly and almost altogether regarded as religious and moral in its character?

III. *Do our native Free Church brethren regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations?*

I have not the least difficulty or one moment's hesitation in answering the question in the affirmative. Caste *is* part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations. Because the institution of Caste is so closely connected with the Hindu religion, it has always appeared to me, since I knew the Gospel, to be repugnant and quite contrary to the convictions I entertain of Christianity. The more that I seriously considered Caste in the light of Christianity, the more I became convinced that it is part and parcel, nay, more than half, of Heathen

idolatry, and constitutes much of the very strength and life of all Heathen abominations. As such I renounced it publicly and solemnly at my baptism on the 20th of June, 1841. It has ever since been my settled conviction, that every Hindu who renounces his religion and his gods and goddesses, must in the same act throw off his Caste, as a man would throw off a garment, when he sees that it is spotted with the plague of leprosy; because the institution of Caste, as it practically and habitually works in the Hindu mind, has in it something more vile and loathsome than leprosy itself. Caste is the stronghold of that principle of pride which makes a man think of himself more highly than he ought to think. Caste infuses itself into, and forms the very essence of, pride itself. Therefore a Hindu Christian must as truly renounce Caste every day, as he must mortify and renounce pride. He must go on casting off this evil, as really as he must "put off the old man with the deceitful lusts," and "put on the new man." Let a Christian man, whether he is a European or a native, view Caste in the light of Scripture and of reason, and he will not have a moment's hesitation in condemning and renouncing Caste, as a pest to all social happiness. Caste introduces a principle of distinction quite incompatible with the holy law and mind of Him who hath plainly declared, that "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God," that "there is none righteous, no, not one." Seeing we are all equally polluted and guilty in God's sight, to draw any such distinction of higher or lower moral excellence and purity, is the very perfection of pride and haughtiness. Again: if those people who countenance and defend the distinction of Caste are honest, and carry out its principles to their full extent in practice, it will destroy every ingredient that constitutes social happiness and improvement. For what is one of the very first principles which lie at the foundation of social happiness, but that of every man's esteeming his brother better than himself? But Caste introduces a principle which is quite the reverse of this. Suppose I hold the distinction of Caste as a Brahman, and carry it out honestly and fully, I cannot, in certain circumstances, consistently with my own views, show my fellow-man of another Caste the common civilities of life as a fellow-being and a member of society. Neither can I at the time of extremity and necessity administer to his wants, but must deny him water and rice, though he were dying of thirst and hunger, as a creature utterly unworthy of my consideration. Nay, I must go further, if I sincerely wish to uphold the distinctions of Caste, and deny him that remedy which I possess as a Brahman, and which if I offer to him may deliver his soul from eternal ruin. And all this, simply because he is so degraded by his Caste as to be undeserving of any consideration and kindness whatever from me. Let those who uphold Caste take a view of it in this light, and they will at once see that, if it be admitted, it subverts all the principles of social and religious happiness, and every element that works for the moral and spiritual good of man. It is in this way that we are to judge of Caste, and to obtain a true estimate of its genuine nature and effects, by viewing it when left to itself unthwarted, producing its evil and bitter fruits, not accidentally, but necessarily, as the pure result of the simple workings of the principles of Caste. When we thus look at Caste, and not according to the glosses and unfair representations of it by interested and prejudiced individuals, we can have no difficulty in perceiving that it is

a great evil, eating away the very vitals of Christianity in the native church. And it is because I regard Caste in this way that I denounce it, and have not the least doubt in affirming that it is part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations. And as such I renounced it in my baptism.

IV. *Is the idea of pollution in the Hindu mind separable from the system of Caste, or not?*

Upon this feature of Caste especially, the native Christians who uphold Caste bring up a great many inconsistent statements and quibbles. To this they are driven, because they are endeavouring to uphold a distinction which Caste does not permit. The way to determine the matter is not by what the native Christians say, or reason upon; but that which ought to be our sure test, is the prevailing notions and practices of the Hindu community at large. The question is not, What can native Caste Christians say in defence of Caste? but, What are the ideas as to pollution being separable from Caste, entertained by Hindus in general? To this test there can be no reasonable objection whatever.

1. It is a fact well known and never controverted, that moral and religious degradation necessarily flows from, and is consequent upon, that Caste in which a man is born. A man has entailed upon himself that degradation in which he necessarily is, not for any other reason, than simply because he is born in that Caste. And this degradation is *moral*, because he thereby becomes irrecoverably and for ever inferior in purity to a man above him in Caste. Who ever now hears of a man of inferior Caste ever redeeming or recovering himself from that necessary degradation which is entailed on him at his birth? And therefore it ought not for one moment to be disputed, that the idea of pollution is inseparable from Caste; because we see that the fact of a man's being born in a lower Caste for ever and irrecoverably involves him in moral and religious degradation.

2. No amount of excellence or of worth, whether of civil dignity or of intellectual and literary attainments, can exempt a man from the impurity and degradation believed to be inseparable from him because of his Caste.

If the idea of pollution be not inseparable from Caste, there can be nothing to hinder a man born in a lower Caste from becoming superior to another born in a higher Caste, by acquiring dignity in civil society, or by attaining a point of eminence, either in intellectual or literary pursuits. For example: it might be easy for me to rise above the ordinary run of Brahmans in scholarship or in integrity of character, yet I could never become so holy as the Brahman in the eye of the Hindu community. I might easily at this moment be able to put to flight one superior in Caste, in arguing with him on Hinduism or on any moral and religious subject; nevertheless this does not in the least take away the reproach of inferiority and pollution entailed on me by having broken my Caste. It has very often happened that a Brahman and a Soodra have stood in the same class in this institution, but who were quite unequal in point of attainment and standing in the class. The Soodra was the dux of the class, and in every way superior to the Brahman; so that the Brahman himself was quite afraid of him: yet the

Brahman thought himself quite superior to him in point of Caste and holiness. Here we see that it is taken for granted by the Hindus in general, that an ignorant and poor Brahman is much more respectable and holy than a wealthy and intelligent Soodra; and this holds true still more in the case of a Pariah. *As a further example, I may give the treatment which a respectable native gentleman, now one of the Police Magistrates in this city, received from a Brahman. This gentleman went to a festival at a distance, and during it went to the Brahman's house, for refreshment. Though the Brahman was poor and dependent, and had come to him several times during the year for support, and must have received presents from him, yet he did not take the Moodeliar into that part of the house where he and those of his own Caste eat and drink, but handed him rice to eat in an outer part of his house.* Such treatment from Brahmans to respectable Soodras is quite a common occurrence: and it is sufficient to settle the point, that no distinction of civil rank can redeem a Soodra from that degradation under which he labours on account of his Caste, and puts it beyond question that it is a religious and moral degradation.

3. This pollution, thus universally held by the Hindus to be inseparable from Caste, is believed by the Hindus to pervade the whole person of a man; so that not one part of his body can possibly be pure: his sight is as much polluted as his touch, and his near approach conveys as much contamination as his sight. *The very eyes of a Soodra or of a low Caste man are believed to be so filled with uncleanness, that if he chance to look at a Brahman eating his rice, the whole of the rice in the leaf is believed to be polluted, and is cast out by the Brahman as unfit to be eaten by him, or given away to some one of inferior Caste.* Here it will not do to say, that several of the Brahmans eat rice in the temples when the Soodras are looking on. For there is a remedy for this pollution. The presence of the idol is believed to do more than counterbalance all the impurity supposed to be in the place from the Soodras being present. The presence of the idol sanctifies the temple and every place to which it is carried, and all the things in that place.

When a Soodra happens to touch any of the utensils of a Brahman, the pollution is believed to go into it as truly and infallibly as the sting of a scorpion transfuses poison into the body which it stings. If the vessel is of clay, it is forthwith thrown into the street: if of metal, it is cleansed by fire, or by some other substances deemed sacred. If a Brahman accidentally come within a few feet of a Pariah, though the Pariah may not touch nor look at him, yet that pollution, which is inseparable from a Pariah for want of Caste, immediately affects the body of the Brahman; and, by the law of his Caste, he is required immediately to go and wash his body and clothes. These facts show that pollution is quite inseparable from Caste. Caste, indeed, is more than half of the Hindu religion; for though purity, strictly speaking, is more a spiritual than a physical thing; yet, in the Hindu notion of purity, it consists mainly in bodily washings and ceremonies.

4. This idea of pollution, as inseparable from Caste, is not a belief incidentally creeping into the minds of a few; it is universally inwrought into the very minds, notions, and habits of the Hindus, old and young. Its hold on the Hindu mind is so strong and powerful, and its sway so absolute, that it works in the Hindus with almost as much

certainty and quickness as a natural instinct. It is the perfection of an instinct that it works quickly and imperceptibly, and always manifests itself with absolute certainty when occasion calls it forth. Thus it is with Caste. This we see from the fact that Hindu youths learn much sooner the lesson of Caste holiness and pollution, than that two and two make four, or that four and two make six. *Children who are not above five or six imperceptibly learn to believe that there is an inherent pollution in a Pariah. Their bodies will shrink from him, like a sensitive plant when touched or even breathed upon. It is quite amazing to see how quickly children so young learn to look on a Pariah, and every thing that belongs to him, as polluted.* Hence that general prevailing habit among the Hindus of shunning the touch, the near approach, or any intercourse with Pariahs or others, though inferior to themselves only in Caste. So that we see most clearly that the idea of pollution as the Hindus regard it, is moral, and is inseparably connected with Caste. We see that it is not in any way separable, because it is so strongly wrought into the very habits, notions, and institutions of the Hindus. We see that this idea of Caste holiness or purity is not confined to any particular section of the Hindus, or the belief of it in any way temporary; but that it is the universal, prevailing habit and practice in the native community.

Seeing the nature of Caste is such, we ask how it is possible for a native Christian to draw the line between what is *civil* and what is *moral* and *religious* in Caste. What Heathen ever dreamed of drawing such a distinction? How can native Christians, according to truth and according to the law of Christ, retain all that is *civil* in Caste, and condemn and renounce all that is *religious* in it? Paul never attempted to do so with his former prejudices and notions as a Jew and a Pharisee. Those native Christians who uphold Caste have either attained to a greater degree of discernment than Paul, or they must be very dishonest in professing to separate that from Heathenism *which is an inseparable part of it:* because, if you who are native Christians cannot separate the idea of pollution from Caste, and yet declare that you uphold only that which is civil in it, you must either be greater men and better Christians than Paul, or what you affirm to be your convictions are not your convictions.

If the observations which I have now made are true, if the idea of religious and moral pollution is not separable from Caste, it is evident that all who observe Caste in any degree are truly idolaters in that degree, as the Heathens in general are according to the measure of their conviction and belief, that is, wholly given to idolatry.

V. *Can Caste be compared for a moment with the European distinctions in society?*

I answer in the negative. Caste cannot at all be compared for a moment with these distinctions of European rank: for these are mainly civil, though they may be modified by the Christian religion which prevails in most of the countries of Europe. What proof is there that the European distinctions of society partake of the nature of religion?

Here I must determine whether Caste is a civil distinction, or not. It would not be consistent with truth to say that there is nothing

civil in it: I admit that there is something of a civil nature in Caste; for what suggested Caste at first was a political object. Caste was devised by the Brahmans, not so much to benefit the souls of their fellow-men, as to establish a political and priestly despotism; and this they enforced by the strongest and best of all sanctions,—those of religion. Since, then, Caste has in it something of a civil nature, the question is, How much is *civil*, and how much is *religious*, in Caste as it now exists?

None, not even native Caste Christians who take a fair view of Caste, can for one moment believe that Caste is more civil than religious in its nature. For if Caste partakes more of the nature of a civil institution than of a religious one, then Caste, as it now exists, must exert more of a civil influence on all the religious ceremonies and practices of the Hindus. Is this a matter of fact? Was any Hindu ever known to claim from any Hindu *Sabha* * any of the privileges of Caste, on the ground that he had *a civil right* to them? Whether we regard the question in the light of Menu, or of the daily practices of the Hindus, we see that the civil influence of Caste is entirely modified and controlled by its religious character. It is Caste, in a religious and not in a civil aspect, that controls the manners and all the institutions and practices of the Hindus. It is Caste that gives a man a moral and religious standing among his people. He cannot stand among them in a merely civil capacity. Caste fixes a man's character here, and his destiny hereafter, as a moral agent. A civil institution, in its most despotic form, can at the most only deprive a man of his liberty or of his life in following out things moral and religious; it cannot affect his destiny, or alter his moral nature. But Caste, as I have already shown, not only determines his moral character in this life, but fixes his destiny in the next birth by determining whether he is to transmigrate into an elephant, or into the body of any other creature. For we must not forget that the doctrines of *Transmigration* and Caste are inseparably connected. By viewing Caste in this way, we see that it is mainly religious, and partakes little of the nature of a civil distinction.

If it be still alleged, that Caste partakes more of the nature of a civil institution than of a religious one, then we reply, that since Caste has existed for so many ages, it must have left numerous examples of men disabled in a *religious point of view*, who nevertheless enjoyed all their *civil privileges*. Now where is there an instance of a King who had violated *his Caste*, and who yet was allowed to retain his *kingly dignity?* What Brahman who had violated his *Caste*, was allowed still to exercise his *priestly office* in the temple? What Soodra, even who had broken Caste, was ever allowed to inherit his *own patrimonial property?* From the absence of all such examples, it is obvious that Caste is much more of a religious than a civil nature. Or, to put the question still more palpably, If Caste be civil, how does it happen that in scarcely one of the leading Hindu temples the principal officiating Priest is a Soodra? The fact that a Brahman is invariably the chief Priest in these temples, proves that Caste partakes more of the nature of a religious institution than a civil one.

Again: admitting that Caste is more civil than religious, how does it

* An assembly of persons appointed to judge in such matters.

happen that that which is civil mainly produces moral *effects?* How can Caste produce more moral effects than civil effects, if it be not moral in its nature? How did the idea of moral and religious pollution inseparable from Caste, creep into the minds of the Hindus, if Caste be of a civil nature? The inference is conclusive, that it is impossible to regard Caste as purely and only civil in its nature.

Again: let a person who maintains that Caste is more civil than religious in its nature, answer this question: How does it happen that Caste people in general, from their very infancy, as by the force of an instinct, shun the breath, touch, and near approach of a Pariah, who has the same physical and moral constitution with themselves? How can the upholders of Caste as a civil distinction account for such a habit and practice, not peculiar to the Brahmans of Madras only, but universally prevailing in all parts of India, among all the various degrees of the community, and among all the numerous tribes of its great population?

Those that uphold Caste as a civil institution have another difficulty to answer. How does it happen that the Hindus universally are more concerned when their moral and religious distinctions are interfered with, than when their civil rights and privileges are invaded? A civil institution must create civil ideas and habits, and a corresponding anxiety to preserve itself untouched. If so, why does not Caste produce such habits and such concern in the Hindu mind at large? So far from this being the case, it is a fact that the Hindus have no proper idea of civil liberty at all as distinct from religious liberty. There is no national civil habit in India, but there is one strong prevailing religious habit, entwining itself with every thing civil. And hence every man is anxious to preserve his Caste, however low and contemptible it may be. If Caste be not mainly religious in its character, why does it not produce feelings and habits of a civil kind, as it has actually produced those of a religious nature? There is no way of accounting for such effects but by admitting that Caste is not a civil, but chiefly a religious, institution; and therefore cannot for one moment be compared with the European system of distinctions in society.

As a further illustration, I may mention the following things. First, it is a known fact in the history of Europe, that a man of the highest degree and noblest blood may eat with a man of the lowest blood and very inferior society. Secondly, a man of the highest rank may marry a woman of a lower rank, and at the same time not lose what is peculiar to him as a man and a Christian in the same way as those who break Caste, whether he may be a Prince, or a Duke, or of whatever rank he may be. Thirdly, in all the legislation of Europe, with the exception of Kings and Queens, who have to uphold special political relations, there are no enactments inflicting penalties and fines on any individual for marrying one below him in rank. And the penalties in such exceptions reach merely to civil consequences. Fourthly, the very religion of Europe does not discountenance, but rather recommends and encourages, free intercourse between those who are high in rank and those who are low: "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate." Fifthly, the idea of personal pollution, as inseparably connected with such distinctions of society, is quite foreign to the European mind, and utterly incompatible with their notions of personal worth, character, and dignity.

But such is not the case with the institution of Caste as observed by the Hindus.

To bring out the truth more forcibly, let us look on the other side, and see how the Hindus observe their Caste distinctions. First, it is a notorious fact that a poor ignorant Brahman, whose chief occupation is to beg and to depend upon others, is not known to go without scruple into the hut of a Pariah, as he will be subjected to fines, and expulsion from his Caste. Secondly, no poor indigent Brahman will legally marry a Soodra or Pariah woman *of intelligence and wealth;* and that simply because she is inferior to him in Caste. Thirdly, no Brahman or Caste man will take a Pariah as his cook, or sweeper of his house, or carrier of his food or clothes; whereas, in a Duke's house, a man of low rank may be in a very respectable situation. Fourthly, *it is a fact well known, that several of the Brahmans and Soodras of high Caste scrupulously avoid having a Pariah as their coachman, because they think it a degradation to have such a man sitting above them. They will rather suffer the inconvenience of making one of their Caste servants go up who cannot drive well, while the Pariah runs at the side of the horse.* Fifthly, no poor Brahman or Soodra of high Caste has ever such a sense of his own inferiority, as for one moment to imagine that any Pariah can be superior to him in purity, however much the Pariah may excel him in mind and in attainments. It is otherwise in Europe, where many a nobleman's son is known to have felt and acknowledged his inferiority to a poor man's son, who had gotten prizes before him at the University, and has treated and respected him as his superior in talents and acquirements.

If we were to go on thus pointing out the differences between Hindu Caste and the European distinctions in society, we should see more and more clearly that Caste cannot for a moment be compared with them, more especially if we take into account what was said on the questions which go before.

A native Christian, when attacked on Caste, usually asks us this question: "What! do you wish me to eat with horsekeepers and cooks?" To treat the subject in this way argues great unfairness, if not great blindness of mind. When I ask a native Christian to renounce the distinctions of Caste, I do not ask him to eat with Pariah horsekeepers and cooks. But what I ask him is, to eat with me who have broken my Caste; to eat the food cooked by Pariah cooks, which cannot at all degrade him in a civil point of view. Christianity does not require a man to eat with his servants or his inferiors, unless there be a particular necessity or reason. *No native Christian who keeps Caste was ever known to eat food cooked by Pariahs. Which of the native Caste Christians is known to drink water touched or brought by a Pariah?* May we not fairly argue, from such instances, that native Christians do not keep Caste with a view to civil distinction chiefly, but from an idea of their superior excellence and holiness to Pariahs? In the face of such living facts, and such striking contrarieties between the Hindu and European communities, how absurd and unreasonable is it for any one to compare the institution of Caste with the European system of distinctions in society! Such a comparison is altogether opposed to living facts and existing practices in both societies. The two systems of distinction proceed on principles quite different. The European system proceeds on what is very slightly, if at all, religious; the Caste system,

on what is mainly religious and moral, in the estimation of the Hindus.

If, after all that we have said on the real nature and character of Caste, as Hindus regard it, the native Christians who maintain Caste, and those who abet them in this their conformity to Heathenism, affirm that Caste as held by the native Christians is quite different from that held by the Heathens, and that they do not observe its distinctions in the religious and moral way that the Heathens observe them ;—we ask them to define what their Caste is, its origin, nature, end, and compatibility with the Gospel of Christ.

It remains now with them to show to us who the inventors of their system of Caste are; and upon what authority, and for what purposes, they devised such a pernicious institution, which is now the pest of the native church, destroying the power and purity of Christianity which as a church she ought to have, and keeping up an unscriptural alliance with the kingdom of darkness.

Till they satisfactorily answer the above questions put to them, we hold them to be acting in direct opposition to that precept of the Gospel, which shows what a true church of Christ ought to do in regard to every thing Heathenish: "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you; and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.)

Discussion on the 27th of November, 1845.

It is high time that all Missionary Societies and Christian men in this part of India should earnestly turn their attention to this Achan, *Caste,* in the Christian church. It has been so long allowed to exist *by a mistaken exercise of Christian charity,* that something special is required to arouse the blunted feelings of European and native Christians to the magnitude of this evil in the church of Christ among the Hindus. One night, we remember, after a meeting of the Madras Missionaries, at which the subject of Caste in the native church was discussed, that we were horrified by the statement of a fact by the Rev. S. Hardey, of the Wesleyan Mission, now in England. He said, that at one of their stations he had an argument with a *civil* Caste Christian, whose brother is a Native Preacher, and has given the Directors of his Society no little trouble by his adherence to what he calls civil Caste. Mr. H. found this Caste Christian most obstinate and heady on the point; and, with the view of bringing the discussion to a close, he put this question to him: "Suppose you had lived at the time when our Lord Jesus received sinners and ate with them, would you have sat down and eaten with Him and these sinners and publicans?" "No," said this Caste Christian; "no, Sir, I would

not." It is true that few Caste-keeping Christians would commit themselves in this way in word; but the meaning of their actions, more emphatic than any words, is in substance and effect the very same. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not unto me," —applies with fearful meaning to those Caste-keeping native Christians who, as not a few of them do, set at nought and despise their native Christian brethren of lower or of no Caste, not only in social intercourse, but at the table of the Lord itself. The sword of the Spirit is needed and must be applied, as this young soldier of Christ has endeavoured to do. But where prejudice is so deeply rooted, before this sword will pierce to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and become a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart in this subtle matter of Caste, the Spirit Himself must put forth His almighty convicting energy in connexion with His own weapon.

The truth is now going forth against this monster evil. Let the people of God pray for such a baptism of the Spirit on the native church as will utterly burn it up. Then the spirit of life and love will circulate through all the members of the body, now enfeebled and ready to die, without being impeded or quenched by this Heathenish leaven; and the body itself will be restored to health "by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, and make increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love, growing up into Him who is the Head, even Christ."

P. RAJAHGOPAUL'S ANSWERS TO THE FIVE QUESTIONS ON CASTE,

Taken in short-hand as he spoke them, on Thursday, November 27th, 1845, were nearly as follows.

I. *Is Caste inseparably connected with Hinduism, or not?*

I answer this question in the affirmative, that Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism: it is the soul and spirit, the very life's blood, of Brahmanism.

First, in all the books of highest religious authority among the Hindus, such as *Menu's Institutes* and the *Puranas*, Caste is viewed as essentially religious in its character; and the Hindus, from their infancy, are accustomed so to regard it. In its origin, tendency, and bearings, it is essentially and almost altogether religious. It is the animating principle of the whole system of idolatry. It is Caste that gives to idolatry its stability, strength, and apparent unchangeableness. It is Caste that assigns to every tribe and to every individual, his place, duty, and service to the gods. It is represented as part and parcel of the

Divinity himself, and as emanating from him. The words of Menu in the *Dharma Sastra* are: "The Supreme Ruler caused the Brahman, the Kshetrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra," (so named from the words, *protection*, *wealth*, and *labour*,) "to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot." Since, then, Caste is considered divine in its origin, and since its main aim is to teach how to regulate the conduct towards the gods, with reference to future births and final absorption, it must be inseparably bound up with religion. Indeed, Caste is now so inseparably a part of the Hindu system, that any attempt to sever it from what is considered religious, would be to render Hinduism, as it now exists, a mass of confusion.

Secondly, The motives by which Caste is enforced are religious in their character and essence, and demand a sacred observance of its requirements. A man's future destiny, his advancement in successive births, and his final bliss in being absorbed into the divine essence, (Brahm,) are all intimately connected with a tenacious adherence and conformity to the principles of Caste. Any thing that interferes with Caste holiness in this world affects the destiny of a man in the next world, lowers him in his subsequent births, and retards and hinders his absorption into Brahm, which is considered by the Hindus as the supreme happiness of creatures. To prove what I have now alleged, I will give two quotations from Menu's Institutes, believed by the Hindus to be divine in their origin:—"He who during one whole month eats or drinks from the hands of a Sudra female, becomes a Sudra for the remainder of his life, and, when he dies, will be born again a dog."—"The Brahman who has a Sudra female for his attendant and concubine, or for his wife, shall be excluded from the society of his ancestors and the gods, and descend into the hell *kaurva*;" that is, "horrible," one of the divisions of *naraca*, the Hindu *Tartarus*.

Thirdly, The violation of Caste is one of the chief crimes that a Hindu can be guilty of, and inevitably renders him an apostate from his religion. We have seen many connected with this school, who have openly avowed their faith in Christianity, and renounced in sentiment all that is Heathenish, their Caste, idolatry, and all the doctrines of Brahmanism, and who, nevertheless, because they had done nothing to break their Caste, were permitted to go into the temples, associate with their friends and relatives, and engage with them in all their accustomed ceremonies and festivities. The Hindus *do* tolerate in one another a change of religious sentiments, and even a change of family deities. We have known Sivavites become proselytes to Vishnu, and some who renounced idols altogether, and yet were not shut out from their families and Caste, nor regarded as apostates from their religion. *But though one should firmly adhere to all the rites and ceremonies of idolatry, and only degrade himself by once sitting with a Pariah, and partaking of victuals with him,—this will utterly destroy his Caste, cut him off from all connexion with his family, tear asunder all the ties of natural affection, and cause him to be shut out from his house, and deprived of all natural and religious rights. The temple-warden will excommunicate him from all the privileges of the temple; and he will be corporally punished, if he attempts to cross its threshold.*

Fourthly, The means that are employed in restoring one who has violated Caste are *religious* in their character, in the Hindu sense.

Priests officiate in these circumstances; the violator undergoes the same washings, gives the same offerings to the idols, drinks the same purifying drinks, the five ingredients of the cow, as he would do to obtain a great moral and religious end, such as moral purification in this world, and exalted births both for himself and his progenitors in future births.

Fifthly, The Hindus in Madras have themselves, in their late Memorial to the Supreme Government, declared, that "*the loss of Caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion.*" So that whether we regard Caste as held to be divine in its origin, as having a religious bearing both on this life and the life to come,—its influence upon all religious ordinances and ceremonies, the religious motives by which it is enforced, the religious punishments inflicted on the violator of it, the religious means taken to restore it when broken,—we see that all these things prove that Caste *is* and *must be* insoparably connected with Hinduism. If Caste be thus inseparable from all that is religious among the Hindus, and if so much of the very being and strength and stability of Brahmanism and idolatry depends on it, then we are inevitably shut up to our first affirmation, that *Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism.*

II. *Is the idea of pollution in the native mind separable from the system of Caste, or not?*

Holiness and pollution are inseparably connected with Caste, because Caste is vitally embodied with the Hindu religion. To take away the life of a man is to destroy all the members of his physical constitution, and a man's life may be taken away by seriously injuring any part of his frame. So also Caste is so inseparable from Hindu pollution, and the idea of pollution is so inseparable from Caste, that whether you separate Caste from Hinduism, or the idea of pollution from Caste, you destroy the Hindu religion. Every class, from the lowest to the highest, is looked upon as a step higher in point of holiness than another class below it. The Brahman who is said to proceed from the mouth of Brahma, is believed to have the greatest measure of holiness: he obtains this holiness, not by the study of the Vedas or by performing certain peculiar rites and ceremonies, but he brings it along with him at his birth; he possesses it as his inalienable birthright; it cannot be taken away from him by any act of man. It is very much like the idea of pharisaical righteousness among the Jews, and springs from the same principles of pride and of supposed high descent. The Pharisees were accustomed to glory and to boast that they were directly descended from Abraham, the friend of God and the father of the faithful; and, like the Brahmans, thought that they would increase in holiness by the strict observance of the ceremonial law. The contempt and abhorrence which Brahmans feel towards persons of a lower Caste, their equals in every other respect, is quite horrible to think of. For one who is morally depraved, naturally as impure as his brother, without a particle of true holiness, and perhaps also guilty of the greatest immoralities, to despise his brother who has the same nature and faculties as himself, who is better behaved in many respects outwardly, and possesses far higher acquirements,—to despise him only upon the principle

of Caste,—I consider to be the very height of pride and self-righteousness, and to be "sensual, carnal, devilish." We cannot conceive of the strict observers of Caste otherwise than as like those whose works God abhorred, "as a smoke in his nose, a fire that burneth all the day." For every form of guilt that these ungodly Jews were charged with, may be brought with equal truth against the Brahmans. They have the same spirit: "A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face; that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick; which say, Stand by thyself; come not near to me, for I am holier than thou."

The holiness or the impurity associated with Caste in the Hindu mind, is not only connected with the soul and spirit, but with the physical frame. *The sight, the breath, the touch of a Pariah are all looked upon by the Brahman as coming from a putrid corpse, full of noxious and venomous contamination; so that a Pariah cannot come near a Brahman, nor touch any victuals or utensils connected with him.* And this is true not only in the case of the Brahmans, but also of inferior Castes. In some of the native houses, Pariahs are admitted to do certain low and menial services, and are allowed to enter their houses every day for this purpose. But as soon as the Pariah turns his back upon the house, a woman follows him with a pot full of dung and water, which she sprinkles all over the ground where the Pariah walked, that the impurity and contamination may be removed from the ground. When a Brahman woman carries water on her head in a pot, where of course it is seen by Pariahs, if the Pariah approaches within a certain distance, she immediately throws away the water, and returns back to the well, to get it pure and uncontaminated. The idea of impurity arising from breathing, touch, and intercourse, is carried to such a height among the Brahmans, that in certain cases an individual guilty of such outrages against his Caste is entirely shut out from all its privileges, and is left without any atonement or absolution. Menu says: "There is no atonement or absolution obtainable for a Brahman, who has drunk the milk of (that is, been nursed by) a Soodrani, or for one who has ever been breathed upon by a Soodra woman; much less for one who has been born of such a mother." And this feeling of pollution is not confined to those of mature years; it is strong even in the young. In the school even where intercourse among all Castes is free, we see the young willingly give up sweetmeats and other things, rather than hurt their Caste. I have seen a Caste-keeping Roman Catholic boy, certainly of a very low Caste, whose sweetmeat was touched by a Pariah boy, parting with the whole of it, rather than be disgraced by his companions as having contracted impurity.

Caste being thus embodied with the Hindu religion, and the idea of pollution being inseparable from Caste, if the light of reason and revelation be let in upon it, the thing appears disgusting and hateful,—an evil damning in its effects, and deserving the frowns and indignation of a holy God. So that whether we view Caste or idolatry, they are the same in their nature, the same in their effects, the same in their evil tendency,—as dishonouring to God, as they are hurtful and injurious to man. It may be difficult to determine whether Caste or idolatry is the greater evil; but I have no hesitation in saying that Caste is hateful, very hateful to God: it is rebellion against God, and utterly opposed to

Christianity. Caste is as deserving of God's wrath as idolatry; so that all the judgments pronounced against idolatry bear with the same force on Caste, because it has been proved that they are inseparably connected with each other. The tendency of idolatry is to subvert every principle of righteousness and holiness, especially the principle of love. And just as idolatry was diametrically opposed to the Mosaic dispensation, which was Christianity in type and shadow, so Caste is a great antichristian barrier to the progress of the Gospel in this land. The object of Christianity is to reconcile man to God, through the blood and righteousness of Christ; to regenerate the soul, and to establish truth and righteousness in the world; and to make as many as believe like God, as expressed in the commandment: "Be ye holy, for I am holy." Now we know how God abhorred the idolatry of the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, and what dreadful judgments he poured on them for their idolatry, and on his own people the Jews, whenever they went a whoring after idols of any of the neighbouring nations; which proves that idolatry is as dangerous to man, as it is hateful in God's sight. The Israelites were commanded to make no covenant nor marriage with any of the nations of Canaan, but to abhor their idolatrous festivals, cut down their groves, break in pieces their altars, destroy their idols, nay, cut off the very people themselves, because of the sin of idolatry. To render the sin of idolatry more odious to the Israelites, they were commanded to break through the strongest ties of natural affection, ties in all other circumstances held to be sacred and inviolable, and to put to death their nearest relatives who secretly *enticed* them to idolatry. "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, namely, of the gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth, thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him, neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him: but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him, to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people; and thou shalt stone him with stones that he die, because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God." What can more strongly prove God's abhorrence of idolatry than this awful passage, and the punishment which it threatens? And if, as we have proved, Caste is inseparably connected with Hindu idolatry and all its disgusting abominations, the above passage from holy writ shows the light in which God must regard Caste, and what judgments he has in store for it in the day of his fierce anger when the idols he shall utterly abolish.

III. *Do our native Free Church brethren regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations?*

We have seen that the Hindu religious books represent Caste as a religious institution, and that the living Hindus not only regard it in the same light, but rigorously carry it out in their practice. We have also seen how God's word denounces idolatry among the Israelites; and as we have proved Caste to be inseparable from Hindu idolatry, and of the same nature and tendency as idolatry itself,—a sin for which God has

been wont to pour down on the Heathen, as well as on His own people the Jews, his severest and most dreadful judgments,—it has from the first been our deliberate conviction that Caste is most hateful in God's sight, most injurious to man, and antichristian in its nature and effects. It was with these convictions that I broke my Caste, and renounced Caste for ever, at my baptism in June, 1841.

I therefore regard Caste as opposed to the main scope, principles, and doctrines of Christianity: for, *First*, either Caste must be admitted to be true and of divine authority, or Christianity must be so admitted. If you admit Caste to be true, the whole fabric of Christianity must come down; for the nature of Caste and its associations destroy the first principles of Christianity. Caste makes distinctions among creatures where God has made none; it attaches moral impurity where God does not; and makes one class of men clean, and another unclean, in direct opposition to the word of God, to fact, and to the actual state of the world. The first two principles that are implied in the offer of salvation by Christ to sinners are,—*That all men's souls are equally precious and equally guilty*; and, *That all men's souls equally need this salvation.* We are taught in the word of God, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," and that therefore they are equally precious, as it is elsewhere said, "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?" And when men are spoken of as guilty, they are said to have all equally departed from him and broken his laws, and are equally vile and sinful in his sight. What David spoke of himself, is true of the Jewish nation; and what is true of them, is true also of the whole world: "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Men are all equally aliens from God's favour and love; for, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God:" "There is none righteous, no, not one,"—statements entirely destructive of all Caste holiness and purity. Even after men are renewed by the regenerating influence of the Spirit of God applying to their souls the blood and righteousness of Christ, their equality in God's sight is still maintained in the Scriptures. In regard to all true Christians, the language of the New Testament is, "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love." "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but a new creature." "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

All of us who have faith in Christianity, whether originally of high or of low Caste, must admit that to limit impurity to any one particular class is to limit the efficacy and preciousness of the blood and righteousness of Christ. It is destructive of the doctrine that Christ is the Head over all things to his church; it makes him the Head and Saviour to one more than to another, and more necessary to one class than another; and is, therefore, quite subversive of the doctrines in which the equality and the sinfulness of souls are implied.

Secondly, Caste is opposed to the example of Christ and his Apostles, in regard to meats, drinks, and social fellowship. Christ mingled with all classes of men without exception. We find him eating in a Pharisee's house, and at other times with publicans and sinners. When he

was sitting at meat in Simon's house, he permitted a woman who was a sinner, a harlot, to anoint his head, to wash his feet with her tears, and to wipe them with the hairs of her head. There were no such distinctions as Caste creates, with Christ Jesus: he reached out his salvation equally to all, preached to all the same precepts and doctrines, pointed out to all the same fountain of cleansing, to bring them to God as equally needing the same mercy and salvation. The choosing of the Apostles chiefly from such a low and mean class of the Jews as fishermen, Galileans, and publicans,—and the mixture of believers on the day of Pentecost, people gathered from all countries, and taken from all ranks of Jewish society, some of them once Priests and public sinners, eating their bread from house to house, and having all things in common,—are further proofs that nothing like the distinction of Caste ever entered into their minds. The example of Paul clearly proves the same: once a Pharisee, most rigid in his principles and strong in his prejudices, and full of inveterate enmity against Christianity, he freely mingled, after his conversion, with all classes of men who appeared to have the mind of Christ,—whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free. From his Epistles we see that all were one to him in Christ, whether "born again" from among philosophic Athenians or luxurious Corinthians, whether Philemon a master, or Onesimus his slave.

From all this we see that Christianity gives no countenance to any such distinctions as Caste, but looks upon men's souls as equally impure and guilty by nature; and, when brought into the church of Christ, as being equally the sons of God, and as receiving an equal title to the tree of life.

Thirdly, Caste is opposed to brotherly union and love and other fruits of the Spirit, and tends to create the very opposite fruits.

The early churches, where much of the Spirit of God was given, and the true nature of Christianity was strongly manifested, exemplified in a high degree the spirit of union and love. It pervaded all the churches planted by the Apostle Paul. When the Christians in Jerusalem were in want, the converts at Philippi and in other Gentile churches readily sent them help. The fact also that Paul was accompanied into Asia from Ephesus by Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Trophimus and other Gentile converts, proves that the early Christians mingled freely with each other, and exchanged their thoughts and feelings without any hindrance: whereas Caste sows seeds of division and separation, of contempt and abhorrence towards inferiors by birth, which kill and wither Christian unity and affections. Caste causes wrenches in the affections, and destroys the very end and object of Christ; which is, that all who believe in him should love one another as he hath loved them. All the finer feelings of the new nature, and the best fruits of the Spirit of God, are cherished and brought to clearer light, where much of the spirit of love and unity exists towards those who are inferior in birth and rank. True Christian love and sympathy raise men quite above the distinctions of worldly rank, without destroying a proper regard for these distinctions. It was this deep yearning love and affection for souls that carried Brainerd among the rude and barbarous American Indians, where his lodging was a little heap of straw in a log-room without a floor. It is this love that is the very soul of Missions. It is this love that moves one Christian to sympathize with

another, that fills him with flaming zeal and with pantings of spirit for the salvation and rescue of other souls. But if the principles of Caste be maintained and perpetuated, the spirit of condescension and self-denial, the bearing of one another's burdens, as Christ hath commanded and set us the example, and all the Apostles in their measure, can never be practised to any great extent in the native church. How can one native Christian sympathize with and bear his fellow-Christian's burden, so that heart shall melt into heart and hand join in hand, if such differences of habit and of feeling as Caste tends to create are kept up? It can never be.

Fourthly, A native Christian who strictly adheres to Caste can never imitate Christ in the way of seeking and saving those that are lost. He cannot enter into the houses of Pariahs and Castes lower than his own without contracting pollution; he cannot sit with them, he cannot preach to them as fellow-sinners having the same nature, feelings, and desires as himself.

With these views, how can I for a moment regard Caste as any thing else but part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations, as a quencher of all Christian love and sympathy, as an institution opposed to all righteousness, to God himself, to the well-being and amelioration of my fellow-sinners and countrymen? As such, I renounced Caste at my baptism, even as I did idolatry, and every other Heathenish abomination.

Here one who views Caste differently may say, "I renounce all that is religious, moral and Heathenish in Caste, and adhere only to what is *civil* in it; I deny the divine origin of Caste as I hold it; I deny the inequality that Caste creates among men, the moral purity or impurity implied in it; I only maintain it as a civil institution, and therefore I can be a Christian as well as you; I believe in the depravity of human nature and the other great doctrines of Christianity as you do, and I *can* imitate both Christ and his Apostles as you can."

This brings us to the two remaining questions:

IV. *Can Caste with truth be called "a civil distinction," chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families?*

V. *Can Caste be compared for a moment with the European distinctions in society?*

We have already shown how much Caste partakes of a religious nature, involving ideas of purity and pollution; we come now to inquire how much of a civil nature is in Caste.

We cannot deny that Caste has in it something of a civil nature. But whatever was the design of its originators in this respect, it soon became chiefly a religious institution; and as Hindu society is now constituted, every thing civil is more or less brought under the control of Caste. That Caste is mainly religious, may be inferred from the following particulars: *First*, It gives efficacy to the ceremonies performed by a Hindu, whether they be to avert a calamity, appease the fury of the gods, or better the condition of the spirits of the dead. But a son who has broken through the ties of Caste is looked upon as morally

incapable of the task, and unfit to be associated or to sit with the Priest. Can the violator of Caste be permitted to use the consecrated water, to throw flowers upon the family idol, or hand over the offerings into the hands of a Brahman, or enter into the temple, or wash himself in the temple tank even with the poorest and most illiterate of his own kindred and Caste? *No, never.* He is even shut out from performing the last duty to his father, of applying the torch to his funeral pile, or of throwing a handful of dust on his grave. *Secondly,* The advantages that accrue from the distinctions of Caste are mainly religious. Why is a Brahman venerated almost as a god? Why has he access to the innermost parts of the temple, to handle and adorn the idols? Why is he called in to officiate as a Priest when a child is born, when it is initiated at school, when a man is married, at deaths, and at periodical feasts? It is simply because he happens to be born a Brahman. These facts show that Caste is mainly moral and religious in its nature, and not civil.

The deterioration caused by intermarriages with lower Castes is dreaded by the Hindus, not from its social and political effects, so much as from a fear of losing Caste holiness. We see this clearly illustrated by the abhorrence which one of a higher Caste shows to one of a lower, and by the shrinking feeling which children as well as grown up people manifest to all of inferior Caste,—to their looks, breath, touch, language, and every action that proceeds from them. To such a height is this feeling carried by high Caste Hindus, that even where equality is acknowledged *in civil life, in talents, acquirements, wealth, and respectability, yet upon the principle of Caste they exclude lower Caste people from all intimate fellowship, and would even allow a Pariah to perish of thirst at their threshold, rather than pour a few drops of water on his tongue.* It very often happens in Madras that a rich family, for the preservation of its Caste holiness, gets an individual from the country, a *cultivator,* whose habits, feelings, and manner of life are quite different, as a husband to their daughter, rather than another who is equal in rank, well-informed, and of good talents, but of lower Caste. Being thus *unequally matched, the husband and wife are a source of great misery, contempt, and disgust to each other. Yet they prefer all this rather than do any thing to hurt their Caste.* Even in those cases where mistakes have happened, and a woman has been yoked to a man of a lower Caste through deceit or ignorance, when a death or any important ceremony occurs, the man is shunned, and is debarred from any connexion with religious ordinances, lest the destiny of the family and their advancement in future births should be interfered with through any impurity in these religious ordinances and ceremonies.

If all the points which have now been stated and proved be true, Caste cannot for a moment be compared to the European distinctions in society. They cannot be compared in their *origin.* Caste claims the Divinity himself as its fountain; whereas the distinctions in European society arise from political causes, changes in the government, or from personal talents, and acquirements, and worth; and many of the existing distinctions among Europeans can be traced to the feudal system. They cannot be compared in their *connexion with religion.* Caste is so embodied with Hinduism, that it cannot be separated without inflicting a serious injury on idolatry; in short, without substituting

another religion in the room of Hinduism: whereas the distinctions of society in Europe can be severed from religion, in so far as they may be supposed to be connected with it, without inflicting any injury on the religion established in these countries. There is no feeling of purity or impurity attached to these distinctions, as among the Hindus. The position of individuals and families in Europe, in regard to rank, is continually changing. But there are no such changes among the Hindus. We see the son of a poor individual in England rising to the highest rank, both ecclesiastical and civil. The son of a poor peasant very often becomes a city Minister, and exerts an influence upon a whole nation. He is respected by the nobility, and they have no difficulty in admitting him into their society and eating with him. Is such a thing practised now in any direction in this Presidency? No: all high distinctions, both civil and ecclesiastical, are confined to one particular Caste, and *perpetuated from generation to generation.* Again: it occurs very often among the Europeans, that a son who has lost his character and distinction in society, by misfortune or by vice, is nevertheless not shut out from his family, but is sympathized with and taken to their table, without any infringement to their rank and position in society. But were a Brahman, without being guilty of any vice, to become a shoemaker, or even to eat with a man of inferior Caste, he could not be admitted into the bosom of his family, nor enjoy for a moment any of the privileges of his Caste.

Further: the feeling of superiority and inferiority is not connected with meats and drinks among Europeans, but with wealth, estates, and such like. With Caste this feeling is indissolubly connected with meats and drinks. For these reasons Caste cannot for a moment be compared to the European distinctions of society.

All these facts now stated show clearly, that Caste has in it so much of the moral and religious element that it cannot be destroyed without bringing down the whole system of Hindu idolatry. If you break down three-fourths of a house, you endanger the whole fabric; so you cannot destroy Caste without bringing down the whole system of Hindu idolatry. *Hence any thing that strikes at the heart of Caste reaches also a deadly blow to Hinduism; for Caste is the chief corner-stone on which the whole of Hinduism rests, it is the strong pillar which supports and perpetuates Hindu idolatry.*

But, then, native Caste Christians will say that they have renounced all that is religious, and hold only what is civil, in Caste. If so, they must have discovered strong points and strong marks of civil distinction, so as to be able to overturn all that we have advanced to prove that Caste is mainly religious and moral in its character. If they still persist in saying that they hold only what is civil in Caste, we ask them, What is the difference between the civil and the religious aspect of Caste which they have discovered? What line of distinction can they draw? In vain do they look to Europe for a parallel. We have shown them the vanity and untenableness of trying to compare Caste with the civil institutions of Europe. It belongs to them to prove that it is mainly civil, and that they can cleave to it without the infringement of any Christian principle. We ask what those civil privileges are, which, according to the Hindu laws, they expect to enjoy from keeping Caste. Is it a superior seat in their *sabhas* that they expect, or the

first honours at marriages, or ordinary marks of civility from the Heathen in consequence of being superior to them in this civil distinction of Caste? And will *the Heathens* allow them these things consistently with *their* views of Caste, and with their settled feelings and habits of mind? Certainly not. And why? Because the Heathen look on them as so much religiously and morally degraded, that no civil distinction whatever can command their respect. When the native Christian says that he holds Caste as a civil distinction, the Heathen mocks him, because he himself believes that Caste is divine in its nature, that it is inseparably connected with religious ordinances and ceremonies, that his future destiny depends upon it, his advancement in future births, and his final absorption into Brahm. And though the native Christian may argue with the Heathen, and say, "Am I not your equal in having a precious soul like you, in sinning against the same God, and in having the same fountain of cleansing?" the Heathen will reply, "No, no: I look on you as morally and religiously degraded; I hold you as an outcast; there is something in your very birth that will destroy my interests in time and my prospects in eternity." The native Caste Christians and the Heathens are thus in collision with each other. The Heathens look on a Caste Christian as an impure man, and shut him out of their *sabhas;* they will not receive him as their equal at their marriages, nor offer him the same marks of civility as a proper Caste man. So that these Caste Christians stand no better with the Heathen in these three respects,—which are certainly points of civil distinction,—than native Christian like ourselves who have broken Caste.

Or do Caste Christians say that they keep Caste as a civil distinction to avoid persecution, and to have more hearty and friendly intercourse with the sworn enemies of Christ, the deadly opponents of his honour, his salvation, and the spread of his Gospel? If they take this ground, we cannot "bid them God speed." It is an iniquitous attempt to cause the offence of the Cross to cease; it is to lose one of the surest marks of a true Christian; for our Lord and Master has assured all his followers that they must expect persecution: "In the world," says he, "ye shall have tribulation:" "Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you:" "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake:" "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?" If these native Christians can escape persecution, their Christianity must be different from that of the primitive Christians, who, with all their gentle and inoffensive dispositions, were not able to escape the fury of the Heathen, the sword, the wild beasts, and the fire: they will be different from their Lord and Master, who was crucified between two malefactors. It is manifest, from the plain statements of the New Testament, that Hindu Christians cannot be without sufferings. How is it possible for them, then, consistently with their faith in the divine authority of the Scriptures, with their belief that all that Christianity says is unerringly true, to defend Caste on the ground of avoiding persecution and suffering?

To come still more closely to the point, and to settle it at once that

Caste cannot be held as a civil distinction, and that native Christians cannot keep it renouncing all that is moral and religious in it, we would ask, What is the nature of the Caste so much boasted of by the native Christians in Madras and in Southern India generally? How do they observe it? and what are the distinctions that they make among themselves? It is admitted, by all the Missionaries, that the majority of the native Christians hitherto, with a few exceptions, have originally been of very low Caste, such as *shanars*, *oilmongers*, *pullis*, and *pariahs*. Now these men, even in the Caste that they retain only as a civil distinction, keep up the idea of pollution derived from Heathenism; *and, like the Heathens, if a Pariah touch their rice, their water, or their cooking-pots, they will throw them away, or break them in pieces.* Neither will they admit as their superior in any respect a Pariah, however far above them in wealth, in intellectual attainments, or in the graces and gifts of the Spirit. The idea of pollution in meats and drinks is purely Heathenish, and is altogether opposed to Christianity, which teaches us that "every creature of God is good: and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." *How comes it that Caste Christians never employ a Pariah as their cook or household servant? How many Pariah cooks are among the Vepery Caste Christians? I know of a Caste Christian of Madras, who, rather than take a Pariah cook and injure his Caste dignity, sacrificed a good situation in a neighbouring Zillah, returned to Madras, and still remains unemployed.* Had he taken a Pariah servant or two with him, instead of Caste relations, he might easily have avoided many of the difficulties that befell him.

If Caste be only a civil distinction, how comes it that these Caste Christians have the same shrinking feeling connected with their Caste, as the Heathens have? I have seen a Caste Christian almost shudder to drink water out of the hands of a Christian Missionary! Will any of you Christian youths, Protestant or Roman Catholic, drink water out of the same tumbler with your class-fellow who is a Pariah? Will any of you take food which has been tasted by a Pariah? Do you not attach impurity to the sight, breath, and touch of a Pariah, practically and substantially in the same way as the Heathen do? In short, Is not your Caste essentially and actually the same as Heathen Caste, except that you do not attach it to the visible blocks and stones?

In what way, then, can it be shown that Caste is only a civil distinction? or how can any Heathen ever be persuaded to believe that it is so? What! do all civil distinctions and dignities spring from meats and drinks? What! are our Pariah brethren, who have the same souls, the same faith, the same Lord and Master Jesus Christ, to be shut out from all fellowship and communion with us on account of meats and drinks? Such sentiments and conduct of the native Caste Christians are directly opposed to the precepts and examples of the New Testament:—"Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (Touch not, taste not, handle not; which all are to perish with the using,) after the commandments and doctrines of men?" "For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as children of light; what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with

darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? For ye are the temple of the living God."

Can any one now fail to perceive that Caste among native Christians, if not so purely idolatrous, is as much opposed to Christianity, as Caste among the Heathens? To hold Caste as native Christians now hold it, is it not to have fellowship with an unfruitful work of darkness, idolatry, under the cover of Caste being a civil distinction?

It is in this way that Caste Christians are leagued with the Heathens, and consequently with the idolatry and all the idolatrous observances of the Heathens, however strongly they may deny it in word. It is as much their duty to renounce Caste, as it is to renounce idolatry and all the immoral and evil practices of the Heathens. The command of the Lord is peremptory, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you." This precept has as direct a bearing on Caste as on idolatry and all other Heathen abominations.

And, further, the testimony of native Christians to the truth and power of the Gospel is greatly, and in many respects completely, neutralized by the position they take as civil Caste Christians. They fail to accomplish one of the great ends for which they are Christians,—to testify aggressively to the Heathen as Christ's witnesses.

They tell us that by having Caste they can go to Heathen marriages and deaths, and that they can associate and have fellowship with the Heathen in certain respects and to a certain extent. But on what scriptural authority can they do this? The word of God is the supreme directory, not their will: all the Lord God commandeth us, and that only, we are to obey and do. *Does the native Christian not know that on such occasions the Heathens use many idolatrous rites and ceremonies? How, then, can he stand among them without destroying the tenderness of his own conscience?* Can he, or does he, speak for Christ there? Will not such worldly conformity gag his mouth, and prevent him from speaking any thing for Christ's honour or truth? We know that on certain occasions the Heathens allow native Christians to hang about the skirts of their Heathen abominations. *But how? Only as silent spectators,—a position that destroys their character as witnesses for Christ, dishonours Christianity and its precepts, and confirms the Heathens in their idolatries. Or if they say, "Our very presence, as followers of Christ, is a witness against them, and we are not altogether silent:"* But is such conduct what the Lord God has commanded his servants with reference to idolatry and all its abominations? How were the Israelites, even in bondage, commanded to speak to the idolatrous Babylonians? "Thus shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens." It was not enough for them to say, "O, we despise all these foolish gods of Babylon in our heart." They were to go and tell them that these gods were no gods, and that they would perish from under the heavens. Does the native Caste Christian perform this duty, and speak in this way to the Heathens? How many civil Caste Christians, after testifying to the Heathens with all their heart, have been again admitted to their houses? Who ever heard of a native Caste Christian being beaten on such an occasion in a Heathen house?

Caste Christians in this way practically deny Christ among the Heathens, and come under the threatening,—"He that denieth me before men, shall be denied before the angels of God." "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." Christians are now as much set for witnesses for God and Christ among the Heathens, as the Israelites were witnesses of old among the surrounding idolatrous nations to the being, unity, and perfections of the one living and true God. "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord: I, even I, am the Lord, and beside me there is no Saviour." The Caste Christians, by keeping Caste, hold a middle place between Christians and the Heathen; they are leagued with both; they in this sense *partake of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, and are partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils.* By thus halting between two opinions they commit two great offences,—they practically deny Christ as the sole Lord of their consciences, and *they place a grievous stumbling-block before the Heathens.* The primitive Christians would not touch nor even look at any thing Heathenish. The earnestness, sincerity, and compassion with which they spoke to and pitied the Heathens, following their abominations, kindled their rage against the Christians. Will not the present Heathens, when they witness a heartless and cold Christianity, feel and say that there is no sincerity nor truth in all that these Caste Christians do and speak? I believe that it is for this want of earnestness and sincerity on the side of Christ and against every thing Heathenish, that the Heathens so often charge native Christians with seeking worldly advantages, and with other false and mean motives, in becoming Christians.

But they may say, "We follow the example of Paul, who thus speaks: 'Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.'" The cases are not at all similar. Civil Caste Christians must be able to show that Paul, in trying to win souls, did something positively wrong. This they cannot do: so far from this, when circumcision, an ordinance of divine appointment, but superseded by baptism, was made by some necessary to salvation, Paul was foremost in withstanding his brother Peter and other believing Jews, that no principle of the Gospel might be hurt. *By keeping Caste they do a positive evil that good may come.* Paul's constant saying was, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." But these Caste Christians, by glorying not in Christ and His cross, but in their civil distinctions of Caste, are guilty of a fearful sin against Christ, against the whole body of Christ, against the native Church, and against the Heathen themselves. Paul allowed nothing of either Jewish or Heathenish origin to enter the Christian Church, and to be binding on believers; he spared no practice or doctrine, even when they did not appear to affect the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. How much more, then, ought the native Christians to lay aside all dissimulation, and testify against, and labour to overthrow, Caste, which they know is purely Heathenish in its origin, and, unlike circumcision, is one of the wicked doctrines and commandments of men?

Until this cloak of Caste be thrown away, the native Church in this country can never be a witnessing and aggressive church. It must

continue shackled and gagged, until it takes the attitude of a church which attacks every Heathenish principle, precept, and practice, especially the principle of Caste, which is so interwoven with all that is idolatrous and opposed to God and Christ in this land, that it cannot be destroyed without bringing the whole fabric of idolatry down at once. So long as a Hindu Christian keeps Caste in any form, he wants one sure and certain mark of his being a Christian in the eyes of the Heathens, and leaves the main parts of Heathenism undisturbed.

Lastly: A native Christian who keeps Caste as a civil distinction, could not rightly perform the office of a Gospel Minister. It cramps the ministry, and hinders the free operation of all the graces of the Spirit. Among the Heathen, the discharge of all religious functions is mainly confined to one particular class,—the Brahmans. The native Christians who hold Caste must of necessity be forced practically to take the same position. Though a Pariah be endowed with all graces of speech, earnestness, and zeal, how can he sit with or stand above those who are his superiors in caste? How can he teach them the great things of the Gospel? How can he hand to them the bread and the wine, the symbols of the Lord's body and blood? How can he hold fellowship with the members of his congregation, go into their houses, enter into their family feelings, show kindness to their children, sympathize with them in affliction, inquire into and redress their grievances, and settle their disputes? All these feelings and duties must be hindered and marred, in a great measure, if Caste be held strictly by them. It must eat out the very heart of brotherly love, both on the side of the Minister and his people. Whom the Lord honours they dishonour by this civil Caste distinction.

If they plead that they cannot get situations, but will bring much poverty on themselves if they give up their Caste distinction, this is itself a wretched proof of worldliness. They thus put themselves in the same condition as those converts of Paul at Philippi over whom he mourned and wept: "Many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ; whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things." If an acute Heathen were to direct against a Caste Christian those passages of Scripture which rebuke the love of this world, such as, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness;" "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world;" "Ye cannot serve God and mammon;" and quote the examples of Moses and of Paul;—how can a Caste Christian reply to him? To what will this Heathen attribute his keeping of Caste, but to these two motives: to escape the offence of the cross, and to get a public situation?

"But," say they, "if we renounce Caste, we shall immediately be shut out from the public offices, be left poor and destitute, and perish of hunger and thirst." The primitive Christians did not argue thus. Which of the *three thousand* on the day of Pentecost pleaded that if they were to forsake Judaism, they would bring upon themselves great worldly afflictions? We know how the Lord provided for them by opening the hearts of the rich, to give all that they possessed, so that they had all things in common. If our native Caste Brethren, like the worthies of the Old Testament, who jeopardied their lives unto death for the name of the Lord, who were sawn asunder, who were tempted, who were

slain with the sword, counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, the Lord would assuredly succour them in their straits, make them a glorious church, and, like an army with banners, dreadful unto the Heathens.

From all these considerations, Caste ought to be viewed as Heathenish in its nature, and inseparable from the body of Hinduism. And whoever may hold it, and under whatever name, it is a positive sin, and an antichristian barrier to the Gospel.

Discussion on the 27th and 28th of November, 1845.

C. VISWANAUTHUN'S ANSWERS TO FIVE QUESTIONS ON CASTE.

I. *Is Caste inseparably connected with Hinduism?*

Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism. Under the name of Hinduism, there are many differences of religion, and many Castes, each having its own peculiarities. Since it is so, and since I am more acquainted with that religion and Caste to which I belong,—the Jaina Brahmans,—I will speak of that Caste first. I say that Caste is inseparably connected with Hindu religion, and it cannot be spoken of as separable from religion. From the account I shall give of my Caste, my religion will necessarily follow. From that we shall see that Caste is inseparably connected with my religion as a Jaina Brahman.

In that Caste, when a child is born, on the *fifteenth* day they give him a name, and make some ceremonies in connexion with it. As soon as the child is five or six years old, they do not begin to teach him either Tamul or Telugu, or any other language first, but Sanscrit. When I speak of the religion of my Caste, I do not mean to magnify it in the sight of man. I speak of it, since it is necessary to speak, as it is. When they teach him Sanscrit, it is not from a book of general information, but from books which contain the names and the praises of their gods. They make the boys learn certain small books, and make them repeat them from the break of day, as soon as they rise from their beds, as praise to their gods, and as a necessary thing which they must do, owing to their Caste. They are taught by their parents and by those relatives that are nearly connected to them, to wash and make themselves clean, and put on their marks before they take their food. Unless they put on their marks on their forehead, food will not be given to them. When children forget to put on their marks, there is a great fear in their minds lest their fathers should see and punish them. They order their mothers or sisters who are near to them to bring that thing, and put it on while they are eating. This is a thing of Caste. And they are led to do another thing according to their Caste, both in the morning, midday, and evening,—a pujah, which is called *sunthyavanthanum*, to keep up their Caste and religion. They are forbidden to take food during the night, and are commanded to take it in the evening not later than five o'clock, because, were they to take food at night, it would be contrary to their religion, and especially to their Caste. They have a great regard to all animal beings. They do not kill even poisonous creatures when they find them in their houses, but take them far from their houses, and leave them in some place where they will not be injurious to others. This regard to animal life their religion teaches, and this they do to keep up their religion. They do not drink water as it is taken out of

the tank, but pour it into another vessel through a cloth, for fear of animals being in it. If any one do not do these things, he cannot keep his Caste consistently with his religion. This is a thing which is done in the whole Caste generally.

In order to specify some of the things done by me and to me, though to speak about this be very difficult, owing to the feelings which I have myself, and what others may think against me, yet I will state the facts as they are. There are about *thirty* houses, in Madras and in connexion with it, belonging to my religion, called the Jaina Brahmans. Among these there are two or three families well acquainted with Sanscrit, who know almost all the religious books in Sanscrit, who know about their religion as taught in their books, and who do the things of their religion, not only because it is the custom among them, but because they see it in the book, and it is demanded of them to do so. The house to which I belonged was one of these two or three houses. This is not a statement which is not well known among the people. My father is a man said to be very religious by all my people who are of the same Caste, and he studied all the religious books day and night without ceasing. Since he observes religion in such a way, he is said to keep up his Caste strictly. They do not attend to Caste so much in the case of young children, as of those who are about *eight* or *ten* years of age. When children are very young, they will give them food either in the night or evening; but after boys have put on the string, to which a great sacredness of religion and Caste is tied, they will not give them food though they were to die in the night. After that string is put on, they consider the son to be a Brahman, and not before that, strictly speaking. If any one does not observe and perform these religious ordinances, he cannot keep his Caste, and be a Brahman. When any one violates one of the religious actions connected with Caste, from him it is required to perform certain ceremonies to certain gods and goddesses, in order that the sin may be taken away, because it have been committed contrary to Caste, which is contrary to their religion. Once after that string was put upon me, I violated Caste by drinking water at a stream without putting a cloth upon it, and pouring it into another vessel. I had not on that occasion a proper regard to Caste; this was not owing to knowledge, but simply as a thing which is difficult to attend to. I thought there was none to see me, and so I did it. But there was one of my relatives standing on the bank, and he saw the thing done. He was not so near a relative as to punish me at once himself; but he went home and reported it to my father, who, when he heard it, was enraged, and said, "Why did you not punish him at the very time when he did it?" When he made such statements as that was, it shows that he thought that some violation was done to religion by that act of mine. Yet the thing which I did was not a very great thing, and therefore it was not punished, it was simply let alone. Had it been some other act, it would have been punished.

After that string is put upon the Brahman, his mother and all his relatives consider him as standing in quite another position from what he did before it was put on, and that he must observe Caste with more strictness, that he may not bring upon himself the wrath of their gods. They attach great virtue to that string; and make the boys fear, by setting forth the punishments that will come upon them if they do not observe Caste with great strictness as a thing absolutely necessary.

In some cases, when children do not put on their mark before they take food, they put cow-dung on their faces, that they may be ashamed, and consider the greatness of the wrong that they have done. Besides, after children have done such things which are considered to be sinful by the Hindus, when any evil happens to these children afterwards, they say it is owing to the former actions which they have done, and which are considered as sinful; and thereby they keep up the Caste-feeling in the children, and make them respect it both in the sight of men and in their absence. To make the young observe Caste in the absence of man requires great forces and motives. *One of the things that keeps their children from violating Caste, when they are alone, and when no human eye looks upon them, is, the fear of the gods, which are said to be seeing them always, and will inflict punishment upon them if they violate Caste. From all this we see that Caste and religion go hand in hand, and are inseparable.* If we were to attempt to separate the one from the other—we cannot. In all this, I see that Caste among the Hindus is nothing else but the strict observance of their religion, as taught in their *Shastras*.

When we take a further view of Caste, there are certain things to be performed, and certain things to be forbidden. If we ask what is the law by which these things are to be performed; these rules are not made by men suitably to their cases, or to the circumstances in which they are at present. These laws are made by their ancestors, and written in their books, and given to their descendants as their standing rules. The books in which these laws are written contain their duties. These books are considered sacred, and therefore that which is taught in these books is considered more than human, not so much as a thing to keep up their distinction from others, but to preserve the favour of their gods, and to obtain a better birth at a future time. To force both young and old, learned and unlearned, to adhere rigidly to Caste, there is another motive far greater than all those I have mentioned. In their books it is taught that *he that violates his Caste will not get a proper birth after his death, but that he will become a cow, a dog, or some other inferior animal, according to his sin.* From all this we see that Caste is not simply a civil distinction, but more religious than civil.

II. *Can Caste with truth be called a civil distinction, chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families?*

My simple and decided answer to this is, that Caste *cannot* with truth be called a civil distinction, to prevent a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families. Suppose Caste were instituted to preserve a family as it is stated here, then this law could not remain always the same; then he that breaks this law will not be exposed to the wrath of the gods, nor to future punishment, as it is at present. According to the Hindu Castes, a family of a lower order will not be allowed to marry with a woman of a family still lower in Caste, though not lower in rank and dignity. There are many Castes which have divided themselves from one Caste which is on the whole the same. There are *four* or *five* great Castes, under which there are many subdivisions. Among these subdivisions intermarriages are not allowed. If in one of these subdivisions there be four or five families, and one or

two of the families have diseases and the others have not, *those who have no family disease will prefer marrying in those families that have diseases, rather than in a lower subdivision or family that have no such sickness at all.* By such instances, we see plainly that Caste is not intended for the purpose of preserving a family from physical deterioration. On this point, the answers to this question require to be met by examples, and several examples were already given in the past days of the discussion.

It is commanded in the Hindu religious books to marry in the same Caste, and not in other Castes. He that transgresses that law violates his religion as well as his Caste. Since a man has more regard to his Caste than any thing else that belongs to him, he will go under any difficulty in order to keep up his Caste, and thereby preserve his honour in society. In marriages, men do not entirely neglect such observances, in regard to taking a woman from a family who have a family disease. But though they pay some regard to these things, yet their great regard is to their Caste, and not to violate the laws of their Caste.

III. *Do our native Free Church brethren regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations?*

We regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, because it is so intimately and inseparably connected with Hindu religion and idolatry. In order that you may see this plainly, I may mention, that in a family of my Caste a woman went once to another family for some days without the permission of the house. When she came back, she was received into the house, contrary to the law of Caste and the wishes of the relatives. For that offence, both she and the whole house were excluded from their religion, and not allowed afterwards to come into the temple, or to do any religious performance whatever. In this case nothing was done directly against religion at first; but there was a violation of Caste. That violation of Caste was punished by expulsion from religion. By this we see that Caste is part and parcel of idolatry, or Hindu religion.

Caste is one of the greatest of all the Heathen abominations, and inseparably bound up with every one of them.

When God made man, his intention was not that they should be divided, and hate one another, and show contempt, and think more highly of themselves than others. Caste makes a man think that he is holier than another, and that he has some inherent virtue which another has not. It makes him despise all those that are lower than himself in regard to Caste, which is not the design of God.

Before I came to this Institution, I had great regard to Caste, in observing it myself and in others. After I came to this school, by means of continual instruction, I saw that Caste is nothing. After I was thoroughly convinced that Caste was nothing, I never observed it afterwards in the same way. Through fear of man, before my baptism, I observed it,—not really, but in name; because those fears that were attached to it by the Heathens I knew to be groundless, and I wished that there was no Caste then, that I might be more free, either to go from one place to another, or to do any thing freely. I several times violated Caste, without the least regard to it, though not publicly, before my baptism.

In answer to this question, I would further say, that Caste is one of

the greatest hinderances in the way of any one who hears the word of God to his receiving it, because Caste produces the greatest prejudice in the mind, and influences it in such a way as to prevent it from receiving any thing contrary to the prejudice. In several places, through Caste, there has been great hatred, and quarrels have taken place, and injuries have been done. In all these things, we see that Caste is of the devil, and not of God; because Satan is the great adversary to all men, and he desires their destruction, though not directly telling them so to their face. I have not the least difficulty now in breaking Caste in any way, though I had some difficulty once; not in regard to Caste itself; but I had and have some difficulty in overcoming some practices and habits belonging to Caste.

IV. *Is the idea of pollution in the Hindu mind separable from the system of Caste, or not?*

The idea of pollution in the Hindu mind, from the highest Caste to the lowest, from the eldest to the youngest, is inseparable from the system of Caste.

Among all the Brahmans, there are certain vegetables forbidden to be eaten, because they think there is some pollution in them. There are other vegetables eaten by some, and not by all. When any of these forbidden vegetables are cooked and eaten by any one without knowing it, when he comes afterwards to know it, he is very much distressed and grieved. His being grieved and angry at those who gave the vegetables, shows the deep sense of pollution which is in their breasts. The same thing may be said about the eating of flesh in the other Castes that are not Brahmans. When they eat flesh that they ought not to eat, they have the same feeling of pollution as the Brahmans have, in regard to forbidden vegetables.

The Brahmans attach great pollution to dogs, because they consider them equal in pollution to a Pariah. For this reason, there cannot be found a dog in any Brahman's house. The *fly-catcher** is also considered a creature which will pollute not only Brahmans, but other Castes. When this insect happens to light upon their head, their shoulder, neck, or any part of their body, they go and wash, that they may be cleansed from their pollution. They attach more spiritual pollution to things *dry* than to things *green*. They take betel and vegetable curries, which may be brought by a Pariah; but not other vegetables which are dry. In their fasting days, if some find an ant, a fly, or a hair of their head in their food, they will order it to be taken away from them and given to others. Some take away part of the food where it is found, and eat the rest: others merely take out the insect and wash their hands.

In all these matters, the moving principle is the idea of pollution and the fear of walking contrary to their Caste. Food prepared for those who have been fasting, if given to others, or to children, is considered to be polluted. On some fasting days even *children* are made to fast. On some days, when they observe certain ceremonies to their gods, and worship their gods, they generally make cakes to offer them to their idols. These cakes they will not give to young or old in any circumstances, before they have offered them to the idol, because this would

* A spider.

pollute them, as they think, and make them not worthy to be offered to the idol.

The pollution attached to vessels, cloth, houses, &c., having already been spoken of by others, I will not refer to them. When a child is born, they think that all those nearly connected with the parents receive some pollution in connexion with its birth. This pollution with some lasts *six*, with others *eight* or more, days; and all these kinds of pollution are watched against, as necessary to keep up their Caste.

The Brahmans and all the other Castes attach a great degree of pollution to death. When any one is at the point of death in a Brahman's house, all those that are in the house are very anxious to take their food before that lingering soul departs from the body. We see this plainly in those houses where men do not die suddenly in one day or two, but are sick a long time, in great sickness, so that it cannot be known to others whether they will die to-day or to-morrow. In such cases, I have seen those that are in the house taking their food sooner than on other days, lest they lose their food if the person die that day; because, when any one dies, they cannot take their food in the presence of the dead body, without violating their Caste. When any one is dead, even those that are in the neighbouring houses will not take their food, until the body is carried to the burial or burning ground. All this is owing to the pollution supposed to be inseparably connected with Caste. When a person dies, as soon as he is carried from the house, the dresses and every thing in the house are cleansed with water, and the persons in it, from the youngest to the eldest, are washed, even though some of them were to be in great sickness. As soon as those that went to burn the dead body come home, they make a ceremony which is called *poonniarautchanum*, before they take their food, in order to purify the house from the pollution brought into it by the dead body remaining in the house for a time. All those that are nearly connected with the dead person, especially the son and daughter, will not touch for some days any pot or cloth in the house, because during these days they are said to be in a state of pollution.

I do not know whether all these things that I have mentioned about pollution are observed in the same way among other Castes, with equal strictness; but I know that they are observed among the Brahmans and those that are more religious than others. They will not take their food, that day, in the house where a man dies, but will go to some other house. And the idea of pollution in connexion with death is so strong, that if any go through the burying-ground, he will be polluted, and cannot come into the house with safety, unless he first washes himself.

If any one were to take his food without *cleaning his teeth*, it will be considered a very great pollution; and if discovered, it will be punished with severity: or if they were to clean their teeth after they wash their bodies, then also they will meet with the same punishment, because it is considered a pollution, and contrary to their Caste.

In any Caste, if a person were to take the half of his food and leave the remainder, his nearest relations, except sons and fathers, cannot take the remainder, because they regard it as a thing polluted by him. If any Heathen were to eat the half of a plantain without biting it off, another person will not take the other half, because it went near his mouth, and may be polluted.

The idea of pollution among the Hindus not only exists between man and man, but also goes to the gods. Before the leading temples in this part of India, there will be no living sacrifice offered. A temple is said to be polluted, when a sheep, cock, or any such animal, is offered before the idols in it. These idols are said to be polluted. The effect of such sacrifices is said to be so great, as to take away the power from the idols. There are some temples which are said to have such great power, that if any thief comes into them, he will be stricken blind, because he comes to steal the property of the temple belonging to that god. Even in regard to such temples as were destroyed by the Mahomedans when they came against the Hindus, when it is said to a Hindu, "You say that the god in that temple had great power: why, then, did he not destroy those that came to destroy the temple?" they make this evasion: "The Mahomedans brought animals and killed them there, and took away the power of the idol, and then did whatever they pleased."

There are several idols worshipped in the houses, some of which are consecrated, and some not. The idols that are consecrated are generally not kept in the house, but in temples, because they think there is more pollution in the houses than in the temples, especially because of death happening in their houses. The idols that are consecrated must receive a *pujah* (offering) from the Brahman every day. If the *pujah* is omitted one day, the virtue of consecration is destroyed, and the power of the idol is said to depart from it, and it is polluted.

They attach to some persons more pollution than to others; to a *barber*, more pollution than to any other, except a *Pariah*. When any one gets his head shaved, he will neither go into the house, nor touch any thing in the house, until he washes himself. A voyage by sea is forbidden to the Hindus, because they cannot keep their Caste with the same strictness in a ship.

Not one of these pollutions is separable from Caste, but each Caste regards pollution according to the measure of its purity. If any one does not avoid these pollutions, he is decidedly said to violate his Caste. For example: if a Brahman does not guard against these pollutions, all those that see him will mock him to his face, and say, he is not a *Brahman*, but a *Pariah*. Not only will the Brahmans deride him, but other Caste people. All this shows that the idea of pollution is inseparable from Caste in the Hindu mind.

This brings me to the Fifth Question.

V. *Can Caste be compared for a moment with the European distinctions in society?*

Caste cannot be compared for a moment with the European system of distinctions in society. The Europeans, strictly speaking, have no such thing as Caste. Their distinctions in society have nothing to do with cleanness or uncleanness of a ceremonial or spiritual kind. Distinction among them is not inherited only by birth, but it is often acquired by their own personal exertions; and this distinction, whether acquired or hereditary, will not prevent a man from doing any thing that duty and necessity require. A man may act contrary to this distinction under the pressure of necessity, and not expose himself to any punishment: he can act quite freely, when he has any proper ground for acting as

when he wishes to show kindness to a fellow-creature in a far lower rank of life. To illustrate this, we see that those Missionaries of the Gospel of Jesus Christ will eat and drink with those Heathens who believe, who are quite inferior to them, both in knowledge and civilization. They do not feel themselves polluted or degraded by coming to those who are very far their inferiors, to show them the way of salvation, and to eat with them also. The European distinction of rank is not like Caste, for it can be violated; but Caste among the Hindus cannot be violated in any circumstances whatever, without incurring pollution.

Some years ago, when widows used to be burned with the bodies of their husbands, a man died, and his wife consented to be burned on his funeral pile. After she was carried to the place, she had great fears in her mind, which greatly increased as she lay down on the funeral pile beside the dead body of her husband. Then her relations threw pieces of wood and faggots upon her, and tried to keep her from coming off the pile. When she began to feel the heat, she tried to flee out of it. The time when this took place was night. A great rain and lightning came on: she came out of the pile and hid herself among some bushes. It was discovered by her relatives a little after, and they began to search for her. *Her own son went and dragged her from the bush, and said, "Either you must die, or I will die. If you do not die, I shall lose my Caste; and rather than lose my Caste, I will die." She pleaded for her life at the hand of her own son, but in vain. All of them tied her hand and foot, and threw her on the burning fire, and so she perished.* Here we see the idea of pollution, and the power of Caste. This son, rather than become polluted and an outcast, preferred either his own death, or the death of his mother. Thus we see that Hindu Caste cannot be violated even under the greatest straits, without incurring pollution.

From such-like facts as those I have mentioned, and many others that might be given, we see that the distinctions in the system of European society are quite different in their nature from the Caste of the Hindus. And from the replies now given to these *five* questions, it is plain that Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism; that it cannot with truth be called a civil distinction; that I feel it to be part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations; that the idea of pollution in the native mind is inseparable from it; and that it cannot for a moment be compared with the European system of distinctions in society.

Hindus who become Christians must not keep Caste: *first*, because it is a part of Heathenism; *second*, because our Master, Christ, when he was upon the earth, ate and drank with publicans and sinners, and kept no Caste, and presumed nothing upon any distinction of rank, although he himself was the Son of the Highest.

All those who profess themselves to be Christians, and will not eat with other Christians because they are Europeans, or are not of their own Caste, or are persons of no Caste, although they may be their equals or superiors, (in other respects,) are keepers of Caste. It is vain to say that Caste is only a civil distinction. It is more than civil, because if it were merely civil, though they might not eat with their inferiors, what should hinder them from eating with their superiors or their equals? If Caste be only a civil distinction, what should hinder a Caste-keeping

Christian from eating with another who, in knowledge, attainments, and worth, is decidedly his superior?

It is plain that all Caste-keeping Christians stand in direct opposition to the example of Christ, and to Christ himself. Therefore, all those who call themselves the followers of Christ, and still keep their Caste, cannot be called enlightened and thorough Christians; but must, in regard to Caste, be called anti-Christians, because they do not, in this matter, follow the example of Christ, but walk quite contrary to him. Whatever may be their excellences in other respects, they can never, according to the word of God, justify their conduct in keeping Caste as a civil distinction, either to their own enlightened conscience, or to other Christians.

Discussion on the 28th of November, 1845.

C. APPASAWMY'S ANSWERS TO FIVE QUESTIONS ON CASTE.

THE questions on Caste, which are put to us by a friend, present a most important and useful subject for our consideration. The right and scriptural consideration of it is useful for the cause of Christ in this land, because it is the Gospel that comes to put down pride, to grind to pieces Caste, which is like the mountains, and to make the crooked paths of human depravity straight. This subject is useful, both for the Christians and for the Heathens. Christians ought to know their own rule and guidance, which God hath given them; they ought to follow, not the mere outline of the Scriptures, but the spirit of them, in all their extent. It is useful for the Heathens: they ought to know that there is one God who made the Heathen and all men; and who formed men, not of different Castes, but of one blood.

Before I attempt to answer these questions, I would say that Caste is an idea suggested by Satan to get power over the people by imparting to them foolish notions. Caste is like idolatry itself, because men give their life for Caste, as they give it for their worship or religion. To explain that it is like idolatry itself, I may state that lately at Chittumbarum, near Pondicherry, a struggle took place about Caste between different families, when many of them were cut to pieces and slain because of Caste. Another thing shows to us that it is of Satan, because it does not separate itself easily from the minds of those that profess to believe in Christ: they desire still to have it as their portion. Caste is chiefly founded upon that spirit of pride which moved Satan, who rebelled against God at first. It is founded upon that spirit of Cain, who slew his brother. Caste rebels against God, by desiring to plant its own wisdom before God's. It thinks itself superior to any other; it looks to its own interest, and not to the interest of others; it envies the good of others, and desires to have all for itself. It is a most selfish thing; it puts down all else, and exalts itself, as Cain did when he slew his brother from envy and selfishness. These are some of the qualities which Caste has.

It is said by the Hindus that there are *four Castes* appointed by their gods, viz., *Brahmons, Kshetryas, Vaisyas*, and *Sudras*, among whom the *Brahmans* are the first. The Brahmans are supposed by the Hindus

to have sprung from the mouth of Brahma; therefore, they are considered by them as holy,—holier than all the rest. What a strange thing is this! How can the *mouth*, that speaks all manner of lies and evil things, be holier than the other parts of the body? It is the mouth that blasphemes God, that envies by envious words, that decides contrary to the law any matter. The mouth is a fire, a world of iniquity, set on fire of hell. How can it be holy? No: it cannot be: because, for the mouth to be holy, a man's heart must be holy; then his words and his actions: but in this case it is not so; therefore, the Brahmans are not holy. If, on the other hand, it be said, the mouth as well as every other part of Brahma is holy, then I say that the Sudras and the other Castes are holy, as well as the Brahmans. Another thing which shows the absurdity of saying that the Brahmans came from the mouth of Brahma is, that the Brahmans themselves say that Brahma, the supreme god, is a spirit. If so, how is it possible for a spirit to have mouth, hands, and feet? This is contradictory to reason and to their own statement. If it is possible for a spirit to have flesh and bones, then, and then only, it is true that a Caste can proceed from its mouth. But it is not so: a spirit hath not flesh and bones: therefore Caste cannot be a true thing. Even a little boy can say that a spirit hath not flesh and bones; and our Lord Jesus Christ hath settled it by the words which he spoke to his disciples upon this point. On these general grounds we conclude that the doctrines which the Hindus hold about Caste are false.

We now come to the *questions*:—

I. *Is Caste inseparably connected with Hinduism, or is it not?*

Caste *is* inseparably connected with Hinduism, because, when a Hindu becomes either a Mahomedan or a Christian, he is not only considered as an outcast, but a public and open blasphemer of their *gods* and breaker of their *puranas;* he is excluded from the performance of all rites and ceremonies as a Hindu; and he is deprived of celebrating his father's funeral ceremonies.

The means which the Hindus take for the restoration of a man to Caste, when he has broken it, show us that Caste is intimately connected with Hindu idolatry. Some of these means are bathing, washing his clothes, not in a common tank, but in a tank considered as specially holy, and attached to the temple; offerings are made to the idols; he is made to drink the *fire* ingredients of the cow; and they burn his tongue. Are all these connected with Hinduism? Yes, they are essential parts of it. Therefore, Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism.

II. *Can Caste with truth be called a civil distinction, chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families?*

Caste is not simply a *civil* distinction, but a *religious* one. How does it happen that a poor Brahman cannot marry a rich Sudra's daughter, though she is high in rank and in wealth? What is it that prevents him from marrying such a one? It is the religious distinction of Caste. Another thing shows us that Caste is not a *civil* distinction, but a *reli-*

gious one. Suppose a Brahman were at the point of death, perishing for want, for a morsel of bread, a little rice, or a drop of water to quench his thirst; and suppose him not in his own house, but in a jungle on a journey; if a lower Caste man see him on the way, and offer him a drop of water or food from his basket, can he drink or eat, or can he not? Will he take, in such circumstances, the means which God hath appointed for the support of life? He will not. That Brahman rejects the lower Caste man's food and water, and is guilty of suicide. What a strong feeling he has of his Caste! He does not mind even death because of Caste; and he suffers the most cruel pangs of hunger and thirst rather than break his Caste. What is it that prevents him from doing so? It is the religious distinction of Caste, making him think that he is holier than the other man who offers him the necessaries of life in his extremity. Another point: Is Caste chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration with other families? It is not chiefly designed for this end. Caste prohibits all intermarriages, *not* for physical or for social reasons chiefly, but for religious reasons. Suppose a European lady were to marry a Brahman, will that Brahman lose his dignity or will he not? Certainly he will as a Brahman lose his dignity, and by that he loses his Caste.

III. *Do our native Free Church brethren regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations?*

Yes, we regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations, because it is in many ways contrary to God's word, and directly contrary to God himself. First, it is contrary to God himself, because Caste is only the invention of man's wisdom; and when we place our own wisdom, which is foolishness with God, above God's wisdom, we offend God, and follow the cunning devices of Satan, and reject the good counsel of God: in this way we sin directly against God. Secondly, it is contrary to the word of God itself; because it saith, God formed one man out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul. For his assistance he formed Eve his wife, not from any thing on the outside of man, but from one of his own ribs. Why did God make her so? That there might be a perfect union with each other, and that they might have holy and equal fellowship together. God did not make different men, and give them different spirits; he made only one man and one woman of the same flesh, and both of one spirit. They brought forth children like themselves, as a tree bringeth forth fruit and flowers of its own.

Another thing shows us that we are all of one body and blood. When God cursed man because of disobedience, he did not curse the inferior Castes, and bless those which were superior; but he cursed *all* men in their first father, Adam, because of sin and iniquity; for God is no respecter of persons. Another thing shows us that we are all of one body and blood. When God sent his only-begotten Son to save sinners from his wrath, he did not send him to save the higher Castes and to despise and destroy the lower; but to save all those who should believe on his name, because there is none righteous, no, not one. As there is one God, and one Saviour, and one sun to give light to all men, so there

is one family of the same blood and spirit: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Third, it is contrary to Christian union and fellowship, and also to that blessed word of our Lord, which says, "See that ye love one another, as I have loved you." This love is the fulfilling of the law. There is one strong thing which shows us that those of us who think that we have a superior Caste are to humble themselves among Christians: it is this, that we ought to humble ourselves after the example of Christ, who humbled himself to death, even the death of the cross. There is no greater humility than this which Christ showed, because he is God himself; the second person of the Godhead, who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but became man to save sinners.

So that we offend God and Christ and our fellow-creatures by keeping Caste distinctions. Before I was baptized, I saw that, if I kept Caste, there would be many obstacles to prevent my growth in grace and in the knowledge of God and Christ; and so I broke my Caste. As the soul is connected with the body, so Caste is connected with Hinduism. Therefore, I thought it better to suffer for the name of Christ and for his word, than to dwell in the tents of the wicked, and to follow human pride. I regarded Caste as part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations, and broke it by my actions. We come now to the *fourth* question.

IV. *Is the idea of pollution in the Hindu mind separable from the system of Caste, or not?*

It is not separable; because, if a Brahman eat the meats of a Sudra, or drink his water, it is considered as pollution. For instance: a Brahman, whom I knew, was put out of his Caste, because he ate of those meats which the Sudras eat. When a Pariah touches the dress of a Brahman, who is bigoted in his religion, he goes to a tank or a well and washes himself, breaks his string, does ceremonies to purify himself, and sprinkles his body with cow's urine. The look or touch or observation of a Pariah is considered pollution by the Brahmans, and is strongly opposed by them as sinful and dangerous, so that they will not allow a Pariah on any account to come near them. When a Brahman sees the eating of a European, he considers it pollution, because Europeans eat those things which he abhors and rejects.

The Brahmans act on the most absurd principles. They drink the milk, they abhor the flesh, of the cow. What is it that produces the milk which the Brahman drinks? Is it not the food which the cow takes? But is it not the same food which goes into the cow's belly, and becomes both flesh and milk? If the Brahman considers the milk as a holy and pure thing, why does he not consider the flesh as holy also, because it is the same material that produces both? A Brahman rejects some vegetables as unholy, and eats others as holy. Why does he do so? Is it not the same soil and the same water that produces all the different vegetables that grow out of the earth? Why does he reject some and take others, though they spring from the same soil and the same rain? He ought to eat all good vegetables alike, and to be thankful. It is his pride and vain wisdom that cause him to reject some of the vegetables. God has given us these things for our support, that we

may eat all such as are good, and be thankful. It is sinful to reject directly in the face of God, and to despise one of his gifts and take another.

All the notions of pollution in the Hindu mind are linked with Caste in one way or other. If a man dies in a house, and the usual ceremonies are left unperformed; if any person goes to that house and mingles with the people in it, he will be considered as polluted, because they have not performed those ceremonies which they ought to have performed according to their religion. The Brahmans have a special abhorrence when they see the killing of a cow, a bull, a sheep, or a cat. When one of the hairs of a cat falls on the ground, it is considered as the death of many Brahmans: and when a cow is killed, it is regarded as equal to the murder of many a man; because the cow is looked upon as a holy animal, and the milk of it is poured upon the head of their gods. When a Brahman sees the killing of this animal, he abhors himself, and does certain ceremonies for his purification. This brings me to the *fifth* question.

V. *Can Caste be compared for a moment with the European distinctions in society?*

Caste can never, for a moment, be compared to the European distinctions in society, because among Europeans a rich Knight can marry a poor man's daughter, provided she be a well-educated and virtuous person. Among Europeans a common person may become high in rank and society. For example: Napoleon was at one time little above a common soldier; and, by his talents, exertions, and military genius, became a great Captain and an Emperor. Among the Europeans a poor family can marry the daughter of a Knight or a Duke. Among the Hindus, can a Pariah or a Sudra become the leading Priest or teacher of the Hindus, as Luther, a miner's son in Germany, or Zuingle, a shepherd of Switzerland? No, he cannot, because of his Caste. Can a rich and well-educated Hindu marry the daughter of a Brahman, who is poor and despised? Can he, or can he not? He cannot be allowed; because, although he is a poor and despised Brahman, his Caste will thereby be polluted, and he will bring great disgrace on that family who think they came out of the *mouth* of Brahma.

I will now say a word to those who keep Caste as their grand portion in this school and in the native church. They desire to love both God and Mammon, which is impossible without being guilty of great sin. They desire to have fellowship with darkness and light. They desire to love fire and water, and to make them agree. They are like that *rich young man* in the Gospel who came to Christ, and wanted to know the way of salvation, but went away sorrowful because Christ told him to give up all that he had and loved very dearly. Why do I say this word? Because those Caste-keeping Christians love Caste as they love their money or their life. The fact of their not being willing to leave their Caste, shows us that they love it very much.

Why do they keep Caste? To escape from persecution and the reproaches of the Heathen. But God himself has said that we must enter into the kingdom of God through much tribulation. Are we to follow God or man? Caste-keeping Christians despise the word of God,

and follow their own pride. They desire to follow the pleasures of this world, rather than to enjoy the favour of God, and the pleasure which is to come. We ought to be separated from that unclean thing Caste, as we have separated ourselves from idolatry. Are we not all believers in one Christ and one God? If it be so, must we follow him, or must we follow Satan? We ought to follow Christ in all things. Ought we not to submit ourselves under God's hand according to his word, rather than submit to our own pride, which must be destroyed, and which will bring down his wrath upon us? We ought to draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to us, and will cleanse away all our sins if we take away this foolish notion of Caste. Then we will become real followers of Christ and his doctrine. We are to resist the devil, and he will flee from us, in this matter of Caste. I think that Caste has much of the nature of the devil in it, because it creates jealousy and envy towards others. It kindles itself in our hearts to hate our fellow-creatures, and to displease God. It makes us love and desire only our own things. It destroys Christian union, and the affection that ought to be among the followers of one God and of one Christ. We ought to follow Christ in all things, especially in this great Heathen land, because it is a land of blasphemy and of idols.

If we keep Caste, will the Heathen not take advantage of us? Will they not say, "Why do you keep Caste? You teach us a religion contrary to our religion: why do you the same that we do? Why do *you* love *Caste* as *we* love our *idols?* It is said in your book, that you are all one in Christ Jesus: why do you love some, and hate others, even among your own Christians? It is said, that Jesus your Master humbled himself: why do not you humble yourselves among your fellow-Christians? It is said, that you are all partakers of the same body and blood: why do you stand aside and despise those who take and eat the same body and blood, and sit before them in another place, that you may not be polluted in your Caste?" May I not say with truth to all Caste-keeping Christians, You seem to be the followers of Christ and at the same time the followers of Satan, because it is Satan that invents all these things by his subtlety? And will not some of the Heathen say, "When you attack us in our religion and in our performances, why do you do the same? When we first send our boys to school to learn the alphabet, we do certain ceremonies: why do you do the same to your boys when you send them to school? Why do you, who call yourselves Christians, teach your sons those doctrines which we Heathens teach to our sons? Why are you guided by the same rules in these things that we are guided by?"

If Heathens bring these questions to Caste-keeping native Christians, what will they say? They will surely hide their faces from them, and disappear for a time, although from their own pride they may afterwards do the same things.

Therefore I say, in conclusion, that Christians who keep Caste ought to search the word of God more carefully and more attentively; they ought to know their duties as Christians in all things; they ought to follow Christ fully, and to seek to glorify God, whether they eat or drink, or whatever they do.

S. ETTIRAJOOLOO'S ANSWERS TO FIVE QUESTIONS ON CASTE.

I. *Is Caste inseparably connected with Hinduism, or is it not?*

1. If we search into the standard books of the Hindus, which are most sacred, we find that they declare that Caste originates with their gods, and is a religious institution. The *four* great *Castes* are distinctions said to be made by their great creator, *Brahm*, and made with a view to exist for ever, without alteration, or any sign of alteration. They are distinctions inseparably connected with Hinduism. With these distinctions are connected certain religious duties. The Brahmans have duties to perform which no other Caste can, with impunity, perform; and so has every other Caste. These duties and ceremonies are inseparably connected with Caste, and are also part and parcel of Hinduism, so that Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism. In these sacred books rewards and praises are held out to those who keep Caste strictly, and persons who have broken Caste are spoken of as those who deserve great anger from their gods; Caste is thrown up as an impassable barrier between the different classes of the people, so that one Caste cannot mix with another, nor a man who changes his Caste receive the same honours as if he had remained in his original Caste.

2. Suppose, now, that two edicts were issued by the Government to this effect, that certain temples of a secondary rank, with their idols also, should be destroyed; and that certain great people—some of the principal Sudras—should break their Caste by eating with Pariahs, and marrying with Pariahs: what will be the feeling produced? The feeling of Caste will overstep the feeling of breaking the idols. The Hindus will give obedience to the first edict, rather than to the second. From this example, we know that Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism, and enters into the whole system of their practices, laws, and idolatries.

3. The Madras memorialists, who are more learned than all the vulgar, gave it as their opinion, in their memorial to the supreme government, that the laws and observances of Caste were *vital* to Hinduism. These persons came forward lately, and stated, before all the Hindus and Europeans, that outcasts, or persons who had broken their Caste, could not inherit property. They did this with a view to hinder conversions to Christianity. But this sentiment of the memorialists is not a sentiment created by them for the moment when inheritances are in danger, but a decided opinion derived from their sacred books; and they give it as the opinion, not of the educated few, but of all the various tribes and Castes of the nation. "*The loss of Caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion:*" this statement, from such a quarter, shows what Caste really is in the judgment of all the Hindus.

4. A Hindu that keeps Caste strictly, is considered as religious,—that breaks it, as impious, as a great sinner, and showing a great disregard to his religion. There is a Brahman not very far from this place, who, contrary to his religion and Caste, went and ate with a Mussulman woman, which act is forbidden both by religion and Caste; so that

certain class of people is considered more pure than another. This idea is not confined to the higher classes; it descends even to the Pariahs, who have their different grades, so that one of a higher will not eat and drink with one of a lower grade than himself.

There are many channels by which impurity is supposed to be carried to the bones and flesh of the higher Castes. I will mention three,—*sight*, *touch*, and *taste*. *First*, *sight* communicates impurity. Here is an example which all the Hindus will be able to understand. It is customary when certain families of the Hindus of *good Caste* go to distant temples, or to countries where there are celebrated idols and temples, to go to a Brahman's house at the place and get food. *Many a time we went to a Brahman's at Teeroopathy. He prepared food, of which he and his family first partook, and then he gave to us. Whatever was left, he never took it back: all the curries, all the sweetmeats, though we had never touched them, he would not take again.* He would not give us the food in the inner part of his house, nor would he give it afterwards to Pariahs or people of a lower Caste. Because we had *seen the food, he considered that our sight had polluted it, and conveyed impurity to it.* I will give another example connected with our own Institution. When this school was in its highest glory,—when there were advanced monitors and many good scholars,—though these monitors, and some of these youths, spoke very loud against Caste, this idea of impurity was not rooted out of their breast. No one was allowed to pass them when they were eating; and, for fear of such a thing happening, some of the bigoted ones did not eat here at all. They believed that impurity would be conveyed by sight, and that their Caste would be spoiled. These two examples show us that the idea of pollution in the Hindu mind is not separable from the system of Caste.

Second, *touch* is another channel. A man of a lower Caste touching one of a higher, pollutes him. *Before the baptism of Venkataramiah, a lad in the second class, who had a stammer in his speech, happened to be asked by an European gentleman, who visited the school one day, to show his tongue, which this gentleman touched. The youth was withdrawn from the school, because his relatives thought that pollution was conveyed to his mouth.* *Third*, *tasting* conveys pollution. Most of you know the case of Shripat, a Brahman boy of Bombay. His brother became a convert, and Shripat ate and lived with him. The Brahmans went to law, and got him out of his brother's hands because he was so young. Then the Brahmans disputed whether ever Shripat could be again admitted to Caste. They carried him to Benares for purification; but the majority of the Brahmans still maintain that he cannot be restored to Caste, and wish to cut him off as altogether impure. I might easily give many more examples to prove that the idea of pollution is inseparable from the system of Caste.

The idea of pollution is so connected with Caste, that it is of the very nature of it. It is a conviction wrought in the Hindus, not by successive teachings, but as something born and brought with them into the world, as natural and spontaneous. All those bigoted Hindu youths that have come to this place, know the feelings they had when they first sat with a Pariah, an East Indian, or even an European boy. We see the effect of instruction now: they are at last reconciled to sit, to speak, and to have intercourse with one another. Though this effect

is produced by a long and successful course of instruction, the idea of pollution in regard to certain things still remains. An educated youth will not permit his nearest school-fellows and friends to come to those places in his house which are most sacred, or to eat with him of his food.

Suppose, again, two people, one a Brahman and the other a Pariah, to meet in the same part of the road; the Brahman is clothed in dirty rags, so that you are ashamed to touch his person, and the Pariah is dressed so as to have nothing offensive about him. Suppose these two come very close together; what is the feeling in the Brahman? A shrinking of his whole flesh; there is something in the very presence of the Pariah that makes the Brahman go back as from an impure animal. This feeling is common to all classes of the Hindus in regard to others below them in Caste.

If we go to the Hindus who are altogether sunk in Hinduism,—not to native Christians, one of whose eyes are blinded with worldly interest,—and mention the name of a Pariah or a *European*, or something touching Caste, they think themselves polluted, and repeat the names of their gods to take away the pollution. So that *the idea of pollution is not separable from Caste, either in old or young.* We need not examples of these things, they are so plain. If such examples will not convince, even corporal punishment would not convince.

III. *Do our native Free Church brethren regard Caste as part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations?*

As one of the native Free Church brethren, I state it, as my firm conviction, that Caste is part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations. I consider Caste to be as much opposed to the principles of Christianity as idolatry itself. It appears to me to be so contrary to all the precepts and all the duties of Christianity, that no person preserving Caste can be called a thorough enlightened Christian; for the greatest fruit of the Spirit laid down in Christianity is *love*, and one of the principal duties required of Christians is *humility*. These two things are altogether opposed to Caste. Can a Christian preserve his Caste, and love his brethren who have broken their Caste, or who had no Caste? If a Christian really loves his brethren and is humble, where is his Caste? *If we search into the Caste of the native Christians, we find it cleaving to their minds as it does to the minds of the Heathen. We see this from what they do with pots and utensils touched with other hands; they are purified and broken as by other Hindus.* We hear them declaring that Caste is only a civil distinction. Why, then, does a native catechist or preacher say that he is superior in station or rank to a Missionary or to the Lord Bishop of Madras? for *he refuses to eat with them.* How can this be a degradation? How can this lower him in the way of civil distinction? No, it cannot. Then why does he shun to eat with Missionaries or a Bishop, both of whom stand far higher in civil distinction? Native Christians do not really hold Caste as a civil distinction, but as a sentiment which they or their parents brought with them from idolatry,—as a portion of Hinduism which clings to this day to their very nature, to their very bones. It is this that creates those certain inward abhorrings at the very meat which a Christian Bishop eats.

Some of the chief reasons why I have broken my Caste, and regard it as part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations, are these :—*First*, the notion of religious purity and impurity is inseparable from the different Castes: but Christianity is altogether opposed to this; Christianity regards all people as sinners and impure; that none are born pure; so that no Christian can hold the distinction of birth-purity or impurity. *Secondly*, if I hold Caste in any way, I cannot love my fellow-Christians or my fellow-creatures as I ought to love them; I cannot manifest the same behaviour as the Apostles who were inspired by the Holy Ghost; I cannot follow in the footsteps of Christ, who ate and drank with Zaccheus the publican, and with Simon the leper. *Thirdly*, because I consider Caste as a great abomination, which tends to separate and cut asunder the same people bought with the same blood into two; where Christ makes one Caste, this makes two. *Fourthly*, because Caste, in its principles, tendencies, and effects, is contrary to all the Christian graces; it threatens their very existence, and prevents their growth and expansion.

These convictions of mine, regarding the nature and tendencies of Caste, have received all that stability and firmness which the experience of four years and a half in the Christian course is fitted to give them; so that I can now more intelligently declare of Caste than when I broke it for ever at my baptism, that it is part and parcel of idolatry and of all Heathen abominations.

Within these very walls my mind and sentiments have undergone a thorough change. By the force of continual instruction, I came to understand that Hinduism and all things connected with it are opposed to God's will, and that all those that maintain and believe in Hinduism will become the devoted victims of God's wrath. So when I came to believe that Hinduism and Caste, and all other things connected with it, must be destroyed by God, and all who adhere to them perish, I was driven to this alternative from conviction and belief, that I must either forsake Caste and every thing connected with Hinduism, or perish. I then felt *three* things,—that I was a great sinner, like others, and no part of my soul or body was pure,—that there was nothing in Hinduism to save me from pollution and from God's anger,—that there is a sufficient remedy for me in Jesus Christ. If any one ask me, "Why did you break your Caste?" my answer is, When I came under conviction that by birth I was an idolater and a sinner, lying under God's wrath and curse, how could I think myself holier than others? When I felt in God's sight what wickedness I, as a Heathen and an idolater, did commit, making me as vile as any, how could I be without breaking my Caste? I not only broke my Caste upon that ground, but because the Scripture commands us to wipe off all the marks of idolatry. As I consider Caste to be a badge of Heathenism, when I came to Christianity, I buried Caste and all my iniquities in baptism, and rose to newness of life. I altogether renounced Caste and every thing idolatrous in its nature, not by the influence of man's sentiments or authority, but in obedience to God's command in the Scriptures, "Touch not the unclean thing." Many a time, when I read the prohibitions given by God to the Israelites, to have no desire to return to Egypt, or to imitate the idolatrous nations; and when I read how Ezra and Nehemiah commanded, by divine authority, the Jews to put away their strange

wives; I wondered how so many of the Israelites could remain stout-hearted and regardless of all God's threatenings and terrible judgments. Idolatry is strong in the flesh and mind of every idolater; and when he becomes a Christian convert, there is still a desire after something in idolatry; so that, unless the love of Christ be very strong, there will still be some tendencies at times to Heathenism in all those who have been idolaters. These desires after Caste and Heathenish things will be strongest in those that have least of the Spirit and life of Christ in them. There is a command in Jude to Christians to this effect: "And others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh." Under the ceremonial law the person that had leprosy was considered unclean, not only in his person, but in his house, clothes, and furniture. So every thing that partakes of idolatry and Heathenism we must relinquish: we are to hate Caste as a thing spotted with Heathenism,—as a thing that bears all the marks of Heathenism. I am more and more persuaded that I should have acted foolishly, and sinned against God and my own soul, had I kept my Caste when I was baptized. I am convinced that my breaking my Caste then has tended greatly to advance my growth in grace and my love to Christ and the brethren.

IV. *Can Caste be compared for a moment with the European distinctions in society?*

The truths we have already thrown out on the nature of Caste prove that Caste, as it is held by the Hindus, cannot for a moment be compared with the European distinctions of society. The question now is,—Can Caste, as held by native Christians, be compared with the European distinctions in society?

Showing pity to such objects as really deserve it, does not destroy the distinctions of rank. Suppose the Prime Minister of England find a man of the lowest grade, an outcast, in utter extremity, at the point of death from hunger and thirst, will he refuse to give him his hand? He will do certain things for him with his own hand, and the people will exalt and praise him for it: he is not degraded and lowered in the eyes of the people by so doing. If a Brahman were placed in the same situation, we would know with what feelings he would shudder and shrink back from that pitiable object, and what reproach he would meet with if he helped a man even in such an extremity. So that the distinctions of rank among Europeans are quite different from Caste distinctions among the Hindus. The first Lords of England can go and eat with the first Lords of France, Austria, Italy, or any other country; they can eat with *Dwarkanauth Tagore*, a Hindu; and by eating they will not lose their rank or suffer any degradation. They have their places in civil society as before. Then why, also, do not native Christians lay aside the pride of Caste, and eat with other Christians of better education and higher standing in civil society than themselves? Their reluctance and refusal to do this show that *their ideas of Caste are not the same as the ideas of civil rank and distinction entertained by the nobles and Lords of England.*

Civil distinction in Europe depends not on birth only: it depends chiefly on personal talents and personal industry. Suppose a Pariah to

acquire ever so high a place and rank in civil society, will those native Christians eat with him? No, they will not be brought to the same level with him in this respect, although all things are on his side except Caste.

From these things, it is plain that native Christians look on Caste, not as a civil thing only, but as religious,—as chiefly religious. For when they say, they will not eat with another Christian, who is a Pariah, however excellent and worthy he may be, what do they mean? They mean that there is something low in his birth, from his being connected with Pariahs. Can a Christian maintain this, and say that he has common sense and a reverence for the word of God?

II. *Can Caste with truth be called a civil distinction, chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families?*

Caste is not chiefly designed to preserve a family from physical deterioration by intermarriage with other families. The early marriages of the Hindus are contrary to such an idea. No person can give a pledge that a very young girl will have a strong constitution. She may have it when a child, but it may be impaired by sickness. If Caste be chiefly designed to prevent physical deterioration, why is not a person or a family exempted from punishment, penalties, and reproach, when, for the sake of health, he marries a woman of a lower Caste? Will a man that does this, not offend all the members of his own family? It is in vain for him to plead that he wished to escape from a wife full of bodily imperfection and sickness. Such a person will be excommunicated and turned out of his Caste.

The design of Caste is chiefly to preserve a family, not from physical, but from moral and religious, deterioration. The moment that a Brahman marries a woman who is a Pariah, *or of a lower Caste*, he loses his Caste; he cannot do his religious duties as a Brahman; he cannot mingle with the Hindus, nor have their respect and veneration as before. Because he has broken his Caste, however *accomplished* and *beautiful* and *healthy* his wife may be, he is no longer venerated as a Brahman, he loses all *his purity* and all *his dignity*.

Caste cannot with truth be called a civil distinction, though it is admitted that there is something of a civil nature in it. The word *civil*, as it is a foreign word, so the ideas connected with it are foreign. *Civil distinction* signifies that place which a person has in society by means of talents, acquirements, and wealth, and not from birth only. The knowledge which we have from history confirms this view. But Caste among the Hindus is not derived from talents and acquirements, but from birth alone. What is it that makes a Brahman superior to a man of low Caste? Is not a Brahman destitute of knowledge considered higher than a person of a lower Caste, however learned he may be? What is it that makes the Brahman superior? Is it knowledge and attainments, or is it Caste? The reason why the Brahman stands superior is, because he has certain *religious* rights peculiar to himself. So that Caste is not a *civil* distinction.

In European countries, a person of mean origin, but of great talents, may become a Prime Minister, or even a King Such a thing can never

take place among the Hindus. Caste keeps the Brahman separate and superior to all the other Castes in India. As long as the Hindus keep to the religion laid down in the Shastras and Puranas, no Caste but the Brahmans can acquire the highest distinction in the civil society of the Hindus.

None of the Heathen regard *Caste* as a *civil distinction*, chiefly designed to preserve a family from deterioration by intermarriage with other families. A *King* in all places is at the head of all civil dignities. But among the Hindus, a King, however rich and accomplished he may be, is considered less pure and less honourable than a Brahman, whose name is not known. In this city, there are many *Moodeliars*, *Naidoos*, and *Pillays:* however proud and however respectable in Caste these people may think themselves to be, they will willingly resign the highest place on all occasions to a Brahman. This shows that Caste is *not* a *civil distinction*.

Here is another example, which shows that Caste has not so much of a civil as of a religious element in it. We have all heard of *Dwarkanauth Tagore*, how he visited both England and France, and ate and drank with the Nobles and Princes of Europe. When he came back to Calcutta to his own people, they excommunicated him, they put him out of their Caste. He had polluted his Caste by intercourse with Europeans of the noblest blood, although, in a civil point of view, he had added to his honours, and risen in the scale of society. If Caste has in it more of a civil than of a religious nature, why do they not keep him in their Caste? And why do they not do this all the more as his honour increases, since they will get a part in that honour, because the exaltation of one Hindu is the exaltation of the whole Hindu nation? This shows that Caste is religious in its nature much more than civil.

But who are those people that say that Caste is a *civil distinction?* They are *native Christians* who are ashamed when they are attacked for retaining this badge of Heathenism. On the one hand they shield themselves from the persecution of the Heathen, by attempting to *keep Caste* and *be Christians* also; on the other, they try to hide themselves from the contempt and reproofs of other Christians who know that Caste is Heathenish, by professing to keep it only as a *civil distinction*. Though these native Christians should declare to a thousand Missionaries that the Caste which they keep is only a civil distinction, this pretence can never be believed as truth. Lately a marriage took place in the house of a native Christian. A native Missionary from another place, who does not keep Caste, came and sat down with these native Christians. The moment he sat down, all the Caste-keeping Christians rose up and left the house. The reason was plainly this,—that they thought they would be polluted if they sat and ate with this native Missionary—a man very superior to them—who had broken his Caste. A catechist, one of those who rose up and left, was cut off from being a catechist for this very thing. How can native Christians, in the face of such facts, proclaim that the thing which they call their *Caste*, is only a *civil distinction?*

All these pretences are seen through, when we look at the feelings respecting Caste which native Christians infuse into their children. How comes it that these children will not touch a Pariah, nor use water touched by another Christian who has broken his Caste, but who

was *originally of a higher Caste?* Why do they say that it is a degradation to eat food cooked by a Pariah?

They say Bishop Heber countenanced Caste. It is true, he speaks rather favourably of it in one of his letters. But this Bishop, though a very learned and amiable person, was not well informed on this subject. Even supposing he had been better informed, his opinion cannot change the nature of Caste. Though a Bishop or an Archbishop should say that Caste may be kept, we must not keep it, because it is contrary to the Gospel of Christ. Paul says, "Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel than that which I have preached, let him be accursed." *From statements in Bishop Heber's own book, it might be shown, that even he would have been against Caste, if he had known the case fully! If he had known that Caste was inseparably connected with religious purity and with the whole system of Hinduism, I think he would have discountenanced it.*

Another reason which native Christians give for keeping Caste is this: They say, "If we do not keep Caste, the Heathens will not respect us." It may be, that some native Christians, because of Caste, may get some grain of respect from the Heathens; but it is a fact that Caste Hindus in general think that such Christians have no Caste, and consider all Europeans, East Indians, and native Christians, as equally impure in the sight of their religion. And it is a fact, that Hindus give Caste Christians the same place as the *Pullies* (a low Caste) of this country. So that Caste-keeping Christians cannot expect much respect, and cannot get it from the Heathen on account of their Caste. Besides, Christians, if real Christians, must always speak against Heathenism, and therefore right Heathens cannot make friendship with them.

Those native Christians who do not relinquish Caste, have no countenance from the word of God. They keep their Caste to gain the respect and to avoid the reproaches of the Heathen. Peter might as well have said, "I denied Christ because my life was in danger; not only my honour and respect, but my life: but I denied him only in word." Peter can give a better excuse, and with greater power and plausibility. The primitive Christians were ordered to worship the Emperor, and to burn incense before his image, and they would be acquitted. Many Heathen Magistrates promised them dignities also, if they would do this. "No, no," said they; "we will take no honour, no civil dignity, at such a price; we will rather lose our lives than lose Christ." So that it is a poor sinful reason for native Christians to say, "We will lose the respect of the Heathen if we give up our Caste." The amount of this excuse is this: "We love the praise and the respect of the Heathens more than the love of our brother Christians, more than the love and approbation of God and of Christ."

Another reason alleged by native Christians for keeping Caste is, "If we break our Caste, we cannot get proper situations in the public offices." No Christian can go to these public offices and keep faithful to his religion, and for a moment be exempted from persecution. A Christian cannot live in these places without persecution. He always will and must meet with persecution in these places, in one shape or another. Is this a reason for their not obeying Christ fully? No, even supposing all the native Christians were to lose thereby all their situations and wealth. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had great situations and were

in high favour, and knew they would lose all, if they did not fall down and worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the King had set up. But how did they act? They did not say, "We will fall down, O King, and worship the image, because we shall lose our respect and standing with so great a King." They resisted him even to the fire, and chose to perish in the flames, rather than break the commandments of God.

If native Christians had a right spirit in them, they would never use such selfish and covetous excuses for keeping Caste: "We will serve both God and idolatry, Christ and the devil, that we may get advantage from both." It is very wrong to urge this as a reason for not breaking Caste. I have heard another reason also: "Are we to degrade ourselves by eating with Pariahs?" The former two excuses have their origin in self-righteousness and covetousness: this has its origin in pride. "Are we, such noble people of India, the pullies, the oilmongers, the Shanars, and such like, to degrade ourselves by eating with a Pariah? Will the governor," say they, "eat with his horsekeeper?" This is only a mean evasion; for who are they that cook the Governor's food? Are they Brahmans, or noblemen's children? By no means, many of the Governor's servants are Pariahs; and almost all the servants of the gentlemen of the civil and military services are Pariahs.

Native Christians ought rather to ask themselves these questions: "Are we, being Christians, to put away all pride, or to act the part of Pharisees, and say to other Christians, 'Stand off, for we are holier than you?' Are we to crucify our old man, and be humble and self-denying as our Master was; or are we to encourage covetousness, pride, and the love of this world?"

The next question comes to be, Ought these native Christians to break their Caste, or not? I say that these native Christians ought to break their Caste, that they may uphold their Christianity, and stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. This distinction of Caste among Christians is opposed to God's will and method of saving the souls of sinners. "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence." (1 Cor. i. 27—29.) God chooses men to salvation, without any regard to religious or civil distinctions. All those of us who have perused *church history* with any attention, must have observed how true it is, that not many mighty, or noble, or wise are called, but rather the foolish, the weak, the base, and the despised; that is, Pariahs, Shanars, and such people as Lazarus, who was full of sores. So that when Christians make this distinction and boundary, saying, "I am a Naidoo, a Moodeliar," "Look at me, a Pillay," taking to themselves these as titles above other classes of Christians, they are doing what is contrary to the word of God. The reason why God chooses such people to salvation is here given,—*that no flesh may glory in his presence.* Do these native Christians glory in Caste distinctions, or not? Do they rejoice in Caste, or do they not? Yes, they glory in it;—they glory in their shame.

It is no impossible thing to see a fisherman a Christian. Suppose

some one to carry the Gospel to the South Beach, and that one of the fishermen there should be converted by his means. Suppose this fisherman to have more gifts and graces than the Preacher himself. Suppose him to become a Preacher, and to be rich in good works, and fruitful, more than any other. Will those Caste-keeping Christians go to him, and hear him, and enter his house, and sit down with him at the Lord's table, and live with him as a brother and a friend? No; although he is one who possesses great gifts and graces, they will say that they can never live in such close communion with him; that such a thought could never enter into their minds. Now, though this be only a supposition, it brings out a real fact, namely, that these Caste Christians, in their present state of mind, will not associate with a fellow-Christian originally of a lower Caste than themselves, although he may be a Minister of Christ, and endowed with excellent gifts and graces.

Is such conduct as this agreeable to the New Testament? Were not several of the Apostles *fishermen?* Were not most of them despised Galileans? Was not Christ our Lord spoken of as a carpenter's son? What does Paul urge on the Philippian Christians? "Let this mind be in you," he says, "which was also in Christ Jesus." That is, As Christ, who was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation, and ate and drank with publicans and sinners, and washed his disciples' feet, do you imitate him. You can never love as he loved, nor humble yourselves as he did; but he has left you this example, that ye should follow his steps.

In whatever way we consider Caste, it is a work of darkness and a masterpiece of Satan, by which he keeps in subjection the souls of the Hindus to this day. It is one of the unfruitful works of darkness, which we are commanded to cast from us. From the Scriptures we have seen that God does not countenance Caste; neither does Christ, nor the Apostles. In the Corinthian Church there was a kind of Caste, so to speak. Some said, "I am of Paul, some of Cephas, some of Apollos, and some of Christ." These distinctions and divisions arose from some being more interested in Paul, and others in Apollos. But this holding up of one Apostle against another, and even of Christ against his servants, led them to divide and tear the body of Christ asunder. We know how Paul rebuked this spirit. "Is Christ divided?" says Paul. "Was Paul crucified for you?" He told them that because of these things they were yet carnal and but babes in Christ. "Whereas," says he, "there is among you envying and strife and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?"

We read in the Old-Testament history of Achan's punishment for coveting a Babylonish garment and a wedge of gold, belonging to the idolaters. We see in the New Testament God's hatred of deceit in the case of Ananias and Sapphira for keeping back part of the price. All connexion with idolatry, all manner of covetousness, provokes God to a great extent, and brings down his wrath. So that if Caste is part and parcel of idolatry, he can never be pleased with it. God can never be pleased with Caste Christians, though they may be catechists and Preachers, and however highly they may think of themselves.

Were private native Christians, catechists, and Preachers to break all those ties of idolatry, and simply to trust in God and his word, and not

to lean upon Egypt, we have reason to think that God would honour them more than he has yet done.

Caste in Christians also forms a mighty barrier to the propagation of the Gospel of Christ. When the Heathens hear of those Caste distinctions and quarrels among Christians, what do they say? We know how these Heathens regard Christianity, because of the *character* and *ways* of Roman Catholics. When the Priests of Rome came to India at first, and converted the lower classes by *very bad means* and motives, we, the Hindus, laid all the *blame on Christianity* itself, and not on these Priests only. So when Heathens now hear such things about Christians keeping Caste, they not only *despise these Christians, but the Christian* religion itself. A prejudice is created in their minds against *Christianity.* When a catechist or a Preacher calls upon them to turn from their idols to Christ, what do they say? "How can we forsake our idols, our own friends, our very life, to follow Jesus Christ, when you yourselves *will not give up your Caste*,—a thing which is Heathenish and contrary to the Gospel of Christ?"

Thus Caste stands as a barrier to the propagation of the Gospel. Caste is that canker-worm that creates enmity and dislike in the breasts of Christians. Caste in a Christian creates disgust and dislike towards him on the part of all true Christians who do not keep Caste. When I consider what some of those Christians in this city are, from what classes and grades of the native community they have sprung; when I hear of their boasting and unwillingness to come into close communion with us,—oilmongers, Shanars, and very low Castes, who refuse to drink water out of the same cup with us; a momentary feeling of disgust is created. But for the love of Christ, their pride of Caste would create in me dislike and abhorrence.

It is my duty to warn and persuade them to break loose for ever from all these remaining tokens of idolatry, and be free as I am. A Christian who keeps Caste is not free, but a bond-slave. Satan would care little though all the Heathens were to become Christians, provided they were still to keep their Caste; for he knows, though they might lose all the outward forms of Heathenism, they would still be bound by a chain —a chain of spiritual bondage—which it would be impossible for them to break.

If God disapproves of Caste, and Christ; if the great majority of true Christians in Europe who know the power of the Gospel, and the true nature of Caste, disapprove of it; if almost all the Missionaries disapprove of it, and the Heathens themselves are against it; what are Caste-keeping Christians to do? *A Brahman said, "I think the Caste Christians are worse than Chandalahs and Pariahs, because they are neither Heathens nor Christians: they wish to have both Heathenism and Christianity."* This is not my statement, but that of a Brahman.

I have spoken none of these things in enmity and dissatisfaction, but to bring those native Christians to a right mind, to make them one with other Christians, to induce them to follow the Gospel of Christ fully, that all native Christians may have the same blessings and privileges, that the native Church may not be torn by Caste in pieces, and become a prey to Satan, but that all Hindu Christians may have the liberty, freedom, and blessedness, which the Son of God gives to all Christians who believe in him, and fully and in all things obey his Gospel. It

would not show spiritual discernment, and might be contrary to truth, were I to say that Caste excludes from heaven, and will prevent a man from getting salvation. I admit that Caste Christians may get to heaven, as some Roman Catholics have done, with a true faith covered with much darkness and ignorance; but, nevertheless, they must bear the displeasure of God in their spirit, and, it may be, also, in their bodies, so long as they are upon the earth.

S. P. RAMANOOJOOLOO'S ANSWERS TO THE FIVE QUESTIONS ON CASTE.

There are *five questions* put to be answered. I will answer *two* of these questions in the affirmative, the *first* and the *third;* the *second, fourth,* and *fifth* in the negative.

My answer to the *first* question is, Yes; Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism. My answer to the *third* question is, Yes, they do, because it is right and just so to regard Caste.

The *second* question is answered thus: No; Caste cannot be a civil distinction, founded for that purpose. The *fourth* question I answer thus: The idea of pollution in the native mind cannot for one moment be separated from Caste. To the *fifth* I reply, Caste cannot with any propriety be compared with the European distinctions in society.

Now I will speak upon the *first* question. Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism: 1. Because Caste is the pervading principle in the heart of every Heathen. 2. Because Caste is nothing but Hinduism itself. 3. Because, if you take away Caste from a Hindu, you take away all that is dear to him.

1. Judge what the Caste Christians say about a native Christian who has broken his Caste, and other native Christians who have not done so. One who has broken his Caste, whenever he comes in contact with the Heathen, is complimented as a full Pariah: he is a *Chandala*: he is considered as something *worse* than man: he is an object of great enmity because he has broken his Caste, because he sits with people who are Pariahs, and because he eats beef. Those native Christians who have not broken their Caste are considered a step higher than the native Christian who has broken it; and they command a kind of respect, equal to a middle class, between the lowest of the Hindus and the Pariahs. The native Christians who have not broken their Caste are halting between two opinions. They have not come to a decision. They have not practically considered the subject. They have not given it that attention, and that place in their minds, which it deserves. It is a mournful field into which we are now entered, because we have to war against our very brethren, so called, according to religion. Instead of shaking hands with them, and embracing them, and sitting with them, and doing things more consistent with the religion of Christ,—the meek Lamb,—we are called to stand apart from them, to warn them, and to point out the way from which they have gone astray. These are lessons necessary for them and us, situated as we are, in the midst of the Heathens, strong in idolatry. This is no pleasant task to a native Christian. When the children of a family are quarrelling with

one another,—it may be, the one party for right, the other for wrong, —those who are opposed to the interests of that family must take the thing as a very pleasant scene. We know that many a Heathen will turn this as a handle against Christianity, with no reason at all, and with all the hot-headed bigotry which is in him. Heart and head will he come to despise both us and the Caste native Christians. But should we for all this be deterred from doing our duty? Should not a thing be done, though at a later hour, rather than be put off altogether? Woe be to them that would not seek to reform, when there is a positive need for it!

The native Protestant *Caste Christians*, as well as the Roman Catholics, are admitted, at marriages, into the halls and verandahs, *or not so far, according to the different grades of the Caste* Heathens in Peninsular India. *They get garlands of flowers thrown over their necks, and have betel and nut presented to them; and they in* their turn are *honoured* by the *presence of the Heathens*, both at the *marriages* of their sons and daughters, and at the time of *funeral* ceremonies performed to their aged and deceased parents. By this we see that there is *some sympathy* in the matter of Caste, some interchange of heart and heart, between the *Heathens* and *Caste-keeping Christians.* But right native Christians who have broken their Caste will *never* be called to their marriages or obsequies; nor will they at all be induced, from any consideration whatever, to attend a place where there is the least appearance of Heathenism.

From the very fact of the people of India being divided into so many religious sects and subdivisions, which divide families and tribes from one another, we know that it is not one God or one common Lord whom they worship. But on the other hand, Caste is a thing which is common and sacred to them all. A Hindu will give up one god for another; a Vishnuvite will become a Sivavite, and *vice versâ;* but he is never known to give up his Caste. When a Hindu therefore professes to be a Roman Catholic or a native Christian, he does not make so great a change as when he renounces his Caste. When he takes a meal with a Pariah, he does something more difficult than to change his god. To break his Caste is more difficult than to change the most fondly cherished deity.

2. Now I will speak on the second head. Caste is nothing but Hinduism itself in its worst and most baneful effects upon the human mind. I may here mention what has been laid down in a book *(Neethisauram)*. "The sins of the subjects fall on the King, and those of the King upon the priest." The priest has to suffer most,—not only his own sins, but the sins of the King and his subjects; and this priest is a Brahman. According to the penal and ceremonial law of the Hindus he is subject to suffer most for sins. This being so, will he not stretch forth both his hands to receive all honours and rewards, political and ecclesiastical? There is another book called *Neethi venbau*, where it is said, "The killing of a Brahman is equal to the sin of killing a hundred cows; the killing of a woman is equal to the sin of killing a hundred Brahmans; the killing of an infant, to the sin of killing a hundred women; and the uttering of a falsehood, to the sin of killing a hundred infants." Now, why are not other Castes of the people brought forward in the way of

comparison? Why is the Brahman alone taken as the most precious in blood? It is because there is a spirit of Caste running through the mind of the writer of that book. There is another book called *Manavaula narayana sathacum*, where first the duties of a Brahman are laid down, then of a Vaisya, then of a Tshetrya, then of the Sudras and Vaylallars. Hence we see that Caste is the commanding principle in every Hindu breast. Every lawyer, historian, and poet among the Hindus has given it the first place in his breast. If this were not so, we should see in certain books sometimes a *Rajah* put before a *Priest;* but there is no such thing on record.

Every person and every boy knows that a *choultry* is intended for the advantage and comfort of people travelling from place to place. But in choultries the Rajahs and other Castes of the people must make their beds in the entry, or, at most, in the verandahs; whereas the Brahmans have access to the interior or best apartment. *Theeroooncermalee* is a sacred place, about three miles from Palaveram. Four respectable Caste natives went to it on account of a certain ceremony in the pagoda there; and after every thing was over, they went in the evening to their best friend, a Brahman, of the place, who spoke to them words as soft as butter, and the respects he showed them were sweeter than honey. But where do you think he made these, his four native friends, sleep? Upon his street *pyal,** which, indeed, was smooth and clean; but during a dewy night, these four respectable friends could not be altogether unhurt by the chilling wind which constantly blew on their faces.

3. If you take away Caste from a Hindu, you take away all that is dear to him as a Hindu. Many a Hindu has actually been known to prefer his Caste to his life, when it came to be life or death. But how many native Caste Christians are willing to apply chisels and hammers to remove the chains of Caste from their own feet, not as Heathens, but because Christ the Lord and his cause demand it? Why are the Heathens so strongly attached to their idol, Caste, which is but a phantom of their deluded imaginations? Why do the native Christians, though repeatedly told to put off this slough, yet wear it as if it were an ornament which is too precious to be parted with for their best and eternal interests? Why does a Brahman, at the point of death, refuse to take some food offered to him by one of a lower Caste? Is it not from the consideration of Caste, from a motive too strong for him to break through?

Is it to preserve his distinction in society that the native Christian keeps his Caste? If he wishes to worship the Lord in sincerity and truth and according to the Scriptures, he must lay aside, without a moment's consideration, his filthy garments of Caste, and put on the robe of Christ, in meekness and quietness of spirit, as honouring the cross of Christ, as inviting the whole universe to repentance and salvation. Can it ever be right to lower one class of human beings, and exalt another, who are in deed and in truth their inferiors in point of real piety and vital religion? Whoever defends the native Christians in their mistaken notions of Caste, defends them that they may continue in their sins, and says that Christ is not a Prophet, Priest, and King over them, but a corrupt and deceitful form of civil distinction,

* An open verandah next to the street.

which is revolting to human nature, and is styled Caste, or the sceptre of the prince of this world. In the creation of Caste, Satan has not transformed himself into a serpent, but into an angel of light—civil distinction—to prevent Caste Christians from having Christ, even as he is, and imitating him as he was when he sojourned on the earth, and following him into the house of Simon, of Zaccheus, and of a poor sinner, Mary. We may well sorrow; but we have also a place for joy, because the time is come when Satan must receive a blow, and no longer escape without one, and that upon the vital part of his strength and very existence, even upon his head, the crown of his pride. This blow is not aimed for removing native Christians from the church and from ordinances, but for sanctifying and reforming them and making them meet for the kingdom of heaven, and worthy and zealous promoters of Christ's kingdom on earth. With the slight change of the name of the bird, from that of a crow to that of a dove, I will give an illustration from the *Hitopadesh*, or, as it is more commonly called, the *Pantcha Tantrum:* "There was a dove which had its nest in the highest twig of a tree; and when she flew to get food for her young ones, a black serpent that was living just at the foot of the tree crept over its trunk and boughs upon its belly, and caught hold of the young ones, and made a meal of their sweet, soft, butter-like bodies. The dove being anxious for a long time to get rid of this enemy, as if she had imbibed the subtlety of the serpent, watched how she might get a necklace of pearls from the queen of the place, to drop it down the hole, into the innermost part of the serpent's abode, and embraced the opportunity of picking up one when the queen had taken off her jewels to bathe, and, flying with all haste, softly, made the pearl necklace go through the hole with her beak. The flight of the dove was keenly followed after, the place where she dropt the necklace was dug up, the serpent killed, and the necklace itself restored to the queen."

Now the serpent which is lurking in the breast of every native Caste Christian, and the necklace of pearls, cannot dwell together. The serpent's hill must be broken; all the holes in its deep windings should be keenly searched; and in so doing, however interwoven, and intricate, and labyrinth-like the passages of the serpent may be within the hill, he must be found out and killed. This must be done for the safety of the native Christians themselves; for the sake of their young ones, to free them from the shackles of Caste, and to prepare the way for the full reception of the Gospel in their minds.

Caste is the crying sin of this land. A man cannot touch or roughly stroke a Heathen or a native Christian who keeps his Caste, without their feeling the touch, not as if it were upon their flesh, but as if it penetrated into the pupil of their eye.

We have another example of Caste being, not a civil, but a religious, distinction from this book, which is a portion of the *Bhagavat:*—When Krishna, the King of Madurapooree, took the sister of a Prince, his equal, she was pursued after by the brother of the damsel, with his chariots, who, when he came within an audible distance of Krishna's carriage, then addressed to him words of which I will give the substance.

The quotation is from a work much studied among the Hindus. Krishna is complimented with a regular garland of flowers, composed of epithets which any man will shudder to be decorated with. He is also

called one of the shepherd-Caste, one who is not his equal, because of his supposed origin, as having been brought up from infancy to the flower of his youth in the house of a chief shepherd and his wife, *Yasodha*. If Caste were a mere civil distinction, Krishna would be as much a Prince as the brother of the Princess, and language so abusive would not be used.

There are some that do not consider Caste in all its bearings on the human mind. It is my conviction, that mere secular knowledge, that science, cannot root out the principle of Caste from the Hindu mind, from the mind of even *young* Hindus. How many of those who have received a liberal scientific education have broken their Caste and begun to seek their eternal interests, and are trying to insure to themselves a place of rank, because a place of merit, in society at large? On the contrary, have we not lately seen many of those scientific hot-headed bigots, partly enlightened, under the impulse of Caste, putting forth their strength in an appeal to the supreme government against the native Christians who have broken Caste? Their sophistry, with all its refinement, while it tells against the reasonableness of their arguments, tells also how sacred and precious Caste is in their eyes. And may we not draw this inference,—that the native Caste Christians consider it no less sacred, to preserve them unshaken in their prejudices and false notions of rank, than the very Heathens themselves? Now, if a full, liberal, scientific education, if intercourse with Europeans to some extent, if the study of *History*, *Geography*, and *Astronomy*, and even a partial reading of the *Scriptures* for a considerable time, have not enabled that society of natives in Madras, composed of both old and young, and convened by the Sheriff of Madras for the purpose of gratifying their intolerant spirit; if all these things have not affected their notions upon Caste, how much more clamorously will a *Sabha*, called for the same purpose in Benares, pronounce in favour of Caste! or a *Sabha* convened in Madras itself with deputations from the interior! From all this we see, that the native mind is now at active work for the preservation of Caste, and therefore it is folly and sin upon the head of every native Protestant Caste Christian to set an example to the Heathens themselves of adoring and prostrating himself at the feet of Caste, under the name of a civil distinction.

Not many months ago, *Dwarkanauth Tagore* sat at table with a regular party of European gentlemen, at a respectable place in Madras. How many of his countrymen who shook hands with him, but who were not as high as himself in rank, who would prefer the titles he has to their own, and, if opportunity were given, would exchange them for his, how many of these sat down at the same table to honour their brother from the metropolis of India? There were natives who showed him much respect otherwise, but in this matter of Caste they drew aside. This is a real living and speaking fact. Is it in favour of Caste as a *religious*, or a *civil*, distinction? What Prince in Europe has been known to have cherished feelings of courtesy and decorum to his brother Prince of another nation, and *yet at the slightest sound of the dinner table prepared to withdraw himself*? Is not this fact also an illustration of the contempt which the Heathens themselves bear against one another, while they speak with their mouth things very pleasant and friendly? Are they not really and practically hating and abhorring their brothers,

inasmuch as they refuse to sit down together and partake of a piece of bread with them?

Again, many think that Caste is a real distinction, connected merely with the *social life and habits* of the Hindus, and intended to preserve the high from the low, the great from the mean, and the rich from the poor. But however enchanting the distinctions of Caste may seem to be at a distance, when viewed nearly and closely they appear in their native colours. You are sometimes taken by surprise at the beautiful construction of a sepulchral monument, but you cannot know what is in the monument till you have removed the outer covering and opened it up. Then you cannot put your nose into the pit, because the intensity of the effluvia drives you back, not a foot or two from the monument, but furlongs. Such is Caste, when examined with close and disinterested attention in all its bearings on the social and political life of the Hindus. Many say that what the Patricians and Plebeians were in Rome, what the Barons and their vassals were during the middle ages in Europe, and what the different ranks of the people were during the reign of Jumsheed, a King of Persia, Caste is among the Hindus. But to any one of these you cannot compare the distinction of Castes as they exist in India. But to this you can compare it,—to what Aristotle gave as an advice to his disciple, Alexander the Great:—"Consider every other nation as barbarian, save and except the Greeks." This is the tone and spirit which every Brahman requires a Rajah, a Tshetrya, and a Soodra to manifest towards people of all other nations, as well as the Pariahs. Caste is imbibed with the very vital blood itself, from the womb of the mother, by the child; and receives a confirmation at every opportunity that the parents have to inculcate principles in its favour, not by word of mouth only, but by examples. Before a child, from among any Caste of the people, is capable of distinguishing his right hand from his left, he is able to know a Pariah from all other classes. The Brahman, who is called, in certain places, the *god* of the people, when he chances to come very close to a Pariah, presents a most lively picture of what Caste is. The favourite saying with the Brahmans is, "The world exists because of God; the existence of the Deity is because of mantras, and the mantras are because the Brahmans are, and hence the Brahmans are our gods." When you see a Brahman come near a Pariah, not in Madras, but in some of the provinces, as Tinnevelly, Madura, Teeroovaloor, Streerungum or Conjeveram, then you see what a hold Caste has upon the native mind. The wrinkled face of the Brahman, red and full, his keen pointed eyes, pricked-up ears, quivering lips, and curious interjections of the most abusive kind, half articulated, because of the intensity of the man's anger, and because all the powers of his mind are summoned forth at that moment, furnish you with an example, which you will not despise, of the virulence of Caste, and of the need of every effort to demolish it in whatever form, and however gorgeously apparelled. Whether it presents itself as an attack against the *lex loci*, or as a lurking, hidden, inwrought sin in the breast of a native Christian, say promptly, plainly, and scripturally, "Here is Satan transforming himself into an angel of light."

Some may here bring forward, by way of objection, the story that is told of Tiruvalluver, the greatest poet among the peninsular Hindus, whose stanzas of two feet number one thousand three hundred and

thirty couplets. Though the son of a Pariah woman, he is said to have had a seat assigned him in a great assembly of the forty-eight poets and judges of poetical composition at Madura. "At first, the Brahmans would not suffer him to come near them; on which he requested leave merely to lay his book on the bench; which leave being granted, the bench dissolved into water, and the forty-eight fell on each other in confusion; when, after a while, the bench, in its original small dimensions, re-appeared, bearing the book upon it; an aerial voice was heard, and the Brahmans afterwards pronounced their approval." This may be quoted in favour of Caste by some who have not examined the subject fully, but it is really only a solitary exception. Many examples to the contrary might be brought forward.

I have seen a learned Valluvan, (a Caste little above a Pariah,) a poet, a native of Teeroovaloor, in the Cuddalore District. He came to the house of a great man in Conjeveram, on whose predecessors the Government had bestowed two villages to be enjoyed hereditarily, and who was the leading member of the Tamul community. This man, though he was not so distinguished for his intolerant and bigoted spirit as many of the Heathens, would not suffer this poet to sit nearer than *fifteen cubits* from him on the bare pyal, although he very cheerfully heard the songs he composed, and ordered presents to be given to him. Why he did not call the poet to sit with him on the same carpet is a thing left to be solved by the native Christians.

That Caste forms a vital part of Hinduism, and is in a great measure its pervading principle, is confirmed by almost every thing you meet with among the Hindus, both in their social and their religious concerns. "A father wants his daughter to be married to a learned man, her mother to a rich man, her relations to a man of good Caste, and she herself to a man of beauty:"—this is a quotation from the Mahabharat, from which we see that the will and desire of the relations must in every *marriage* be greatly taken into the account, because they form the great majority of the persons present and necessary to the marriage. The relations can either say, Yea, or nay, and are invested with full powers to question the marriage of any one of their relations, and, by preventing attendance, to degrade that family, and excommunicate them from all sympathy, either at times of death or times of rejoicing.

The Hindu authors have tried to infuse a bigoted spirit into both the elementary books of morals read by boys and some works of a higher kind. The last two feet of the *fourth verse* of *Mootharey* furnishes us with an example: "The high-born, though they may be ruined, still will remain high-born; just as a large shell *sanku*, though burned in the fire, will yet remain white."

And again, from the *fifth* verse of the same book, we also see what kind of hold Caste has in the breast of every Heathen boy who begins his education in a Heathen school: "Aquatic plants stand as high as the water which fills the tank; a man's wits depend on the extent of his acquirements, a man's prosperity is equal to the amount of his religious devotion, and *his disposition is equal to his Caste*." Now such statements, infused into an elementary book, must produce prejudices that cannot easily be rooted out of the minds of boys. The grandfathers of the present race of civil native Caste Christians must have known that these principles were embodied in their elementary books,

as well as in others familiar to them prior to their baptism, and that this was one of the ways by which these feelings of Caste were communicated to them.

For a native Christian to argue against an attempt which aims to restore him to a full and vigorous Christianity is not fair. When shown that the ground upon which he stands is enchanted, the sooner he quits it the better it will be for him; because even a more glorious Moses than the leader of the children of Israel bids him flee from the land of bondage and from the house of servitude, even Egypt,—to flee for his life, his safety, and his conscience. This Moses, even Christ, is far more attached to their eternal and best interests; and, therefore, he is to be obeyed and followed. Christ gave his life actually on the cross, and he bids them flee. Flee before the waters are united. Flee before the Red Sea comes on the Egyptians; flee at the command of your Lord and your Leader, even Christ. If you will not flee at his command, what will move you,—what will lead you to your duty? When will you see that unfathomable depth of iniquity, even Caste, in its true nature, as worse than any devils that you can come in contact with? When will you know that the origin of Caste is not from any *civil legislator*, but from the mouth, breast, belly, and feet of *Brahma*, a Heathen god? As men who ought to know about every book of morals or instruction among the Hindus, how can any one of you say that Caste has its origin in a name called *Civil Distinction?* Caste begins in religion, ends in religion, and conflicts with religion. It desires to have the ascendancy, and step into the Church of Christ. It is not with the civil power in any form that the Caste of these native Christians is conflicting, but with the religion of Christ. Caste is always pointed against Christianity, against the purest of all creeds.

Why should any one pretend to say that Caste is a *civil distinction?* Why should our brothers be suffered by us to run into a ditch? Why should we not seek to enlighten them when we see what their duty is? Should we not stretch out our hands to draw them as from the fire of hell? Should we not now sound the watch-word, and even beat and pull them by the hip, to prevent them from sliding into the pit of ruin? Let our brethren say what they may, should we not do our duty? The Caste Christian knows not where he stands; he sees not to what an awful extremity he has brought himself. Although he may be angry at us now, still, if he will hear, there is a time coming when he will embrace us as his true and sincere friends, for having pulled him from destruction even against his will.

Let us lay aside all fruitless talking, and see whether we can properly and plainly come to the point. The swan is said to have the delicate faculty peculiar to itself of separating milk from water, when these two liquids are mixed together; and the cow, by grazing in the meadows, fills its stomach,—and then, by chewing at night, provides for its own nourishment and strength. So let us try to take in and to judge fairly upon all the arguments brought against Caste. Let us take them into our heart; let us meditate upon them. Let us bring all our attention and all our faculties to the subject, and so settle it as to leave no room for our successors to quibble about it. Let us lay aside the weapons of questioning and disputing, and consider what is our duty, with a moderate, calm, and composed spirit.

In a treatise considered to be important for real learning and worth in letters, there is a thing deserving of notice in the very threshold of it, in the thirty-ninth verse of the preface. Here *fifteen* sorts of people are pronounced incapable of being taught by a teacher in the principles of any science. Of these fifteen there are *two* intimately connected with the subject of our inquiry who are not entitled to be educated. These are a *sinner*, and one who is *poor*. Now who are in the eye of Hindus sinners and poor, but *Pariahs?* In these days when a foreign power is wielding the sceptre, the poor Pariahs cannot be hindered by you or any of the Heathen from acquiring learning, if they have a mind. But can it be right, in any book of morals or any book whatever, to preclude people on this ground from having access to learning? It is not because they are deaf or dumb, or have some peculiar malady in the head, that they are prohibited from learning, but simply because they are Pariahs. And yet such a passage as this is not less powerful on that account in prejudicing the native mind against the loss of Caste.

A native of India, who was once an inhabitant of the Madras Presidency, left his father's house when very young, and went, first to Bengal, and afterwards settled in the Mauritius. There, through his own personal merits, he has become a distinguished merchant, and is highly respected by the Colonial Governor on every occasion. After a time a nephew of his, from *Milapore*, went to him; and when his uncle wanted him to dine with him, he refused to do it, because his uncle had broken Caste. Upon this, his uncle applied a short rod to his back, though he was grown up in years, to teach him to distinguish right from wrong. The nephew, after persisting in his obstinacy for a time, broke his Caste, and sat down at his uncle's table. We see from this how Caste tears heart from heart,—how relations, the most intimately connected, are made to shudder at each other, and will not put their hands out at the same table. For what is all this but to preserve Hinduism, even when it has run so far away as the Mauritius? When individuals, born in the same family, are so unreasonable and opposed to one another, how much more fiercely do they stand erect when others come to reason with them! How many tricks will Caste Christians not play on false grounds? How many places will you lurk in! And after you have heard your opponent against Caste principles till his fiery zeal is quieted, how coolly and considerately will you raise your hand and try to pull him beneath your feet, even although he may be your elder and superior in real worth!

Caste Christians are like the Jesuits in the habit of a Heathen *Pandauram*,* to deceive the Europeans on the one hand, and the Heathens on the other. Why do you use these colourings on your garments, when Christ clothes you with his own righteousness? Will that not give you enough of dignity and rank? Is his righteousness insufficient, that you still seek to wear the filthy rags which were not fully laid aside by your grandfathers? Will your grandfathers or Christ serve you as a Mediator? O, take this into solemn consideration! Speak not a word before you are conscious to whom you speak, what, and how you are doing. How long did the Hindus mistake the Jesuit

* *Pandauram*, a Mendicant Priest, who generally wears clothes stained with *turmeric.*

Missionary, in the habit of a Heathen-*Pandauram*, for a Brahman? Did they not soon discover and hate the impostor more than a Jesuit Missionary in his real clothes? Why, then, should you now go in this dress of Caste? Ye, who are required to be meek lambs of the sheep-fold of Christ, wish to be wolves with the skins of tigers. Are not the Heathens so afraid of Caste being brought to destruction, that certain Hindus are composing hymns against every individual who dares touch Caste in any one of its bearings? When the Heathens are crying from the ramparts of Satan's citadel for the sympathy and help of all their friends, should the friends and followers of Christ take their side and stand up for Caste? Should you be hindered by your sins, by your half-enlightened minds, by your inattention, from hearing the sound of the trumpet of Christ, the Captain of the mighty host: and going forth as one man, as his friend, his servant, his soldier, to fight against Satan, to break into the fort, to spoil the inhabitants of their goods,—of all remnants of Heathenism kept and grasped to their bosoms by prejudice.

Why are the Heathens afraid of losing their Caste? Is it not from motives of religion? Why do you, native Christians, abet and appreciate it still more largely? Should you not say by your mouth, your example, and your life, that it is nothing but a chain binding you fast to the iron yoke of Satan? Of what avail is it to say that you are Christians, if you do not illustrate your convictions by your example? This is a question involving the dearest and best interests of the Hindus,—whether they shall be spiritually and for ever free, or not. Every idol in this land must totter to its basis, and fall flat to pieces on the earth. Why should you, native Caste Christians, at such a crisis as this, when the whole of India either waits for eternal salvation from a glorious Redeemer, or must become more dead and prostrate under the power of Caste and of idols, be now found helping the falling hand of Satan? What is concerned, what is at stake now? Is it your moral and social privileges? No, not one of them. Why, then, quarrel for a thing in which if you succeed, it will only prove your ruin? Are you, like children, not to look to things above, but only to things beneath? Look back, and hear that voice of your Saviour,—"Away from the false crowds into my fold: there is a wolf, a tiger, Satan, seeking to devour you. Flee," he cries, "flee, my son, flee, my brethren," in a weeping tone. "O thou, my child, why wilt thou tarry? why wilt thou look back? why wilt thou not hear me?"

Is it only in a *civil* point of view that Satan tries to keep fast hold of your mind? If this were so, why does Satan cry in the distant parts, even among the emigrants at New South Wales and the Mauritius?* How strongly he has established his dominion, and how he roars and tears himself at the least, the slightest, touch!

Why will you not get a Pariah to cook your rice, when your wives and children go to see your friends? Why do you require a Caste man or woman to cook your rice during their absence? Is this not a lurking Heathenism,—lurking in the secret places of your house where no European eye can reach? What can be more double-hearted than to say you have cast off all Heathenism, and to retain Caste, the vilest and worst

* That is, the Coolies who have gone to those places.

part of it? What worse dissimulation can you be guilty of as a professing Christian?

We see also how Caste, some years ago, cried and tried its best, till it had got the object it desired in a political point of view, from a minute of the late Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of this Presidency. The purport of the minute was, that nothing should be molested in the feelings and practices of the Hindus. The occasion of it was this:—A respectable influential goldsmith caused his son to be carried in a palanquin through the streets of Masulipatam accompanied by a marriage procession. The hearts and feelings of the other Castes there having been irritated, because they thought their privileges were interfered with, they caused a reference to be made to the powers at Madras. In consequence of their representations, Sir Thomas Munro ordered that every man should enjoy the peculiar privileges of his own tribe, and not invade those of another, and caused circulars to this effect to be written and sent to the principal public servants in the interior. We see from this how Caste transformed itself into something not altogether civil but *religious*, and was not satisfied with any thing else than a repetition of the same enforcement by British power as had been given to it by its own lawgivers.

The Heathens are not satisfied with the *half gratification* of their spiritual lusts and whoredoms after idolatry: but is this a reason why civil Caste Christians should be running after things not lawful, but prohibited by God? If they persist in seeking after Caste, we cannot say what evil effects will follow, nor how and where they will end. Come, now, and let us embrace one another, as children of a common Parent and disciples of a common Lord. Let us engage to serve and obey Christ, and Christ alone. Let us hold all the cords of Heathenism, which in any degree fall short of a sound and scriptural Christianity, to the fire, and be united not only in profession but in principle, in head, in heart, and all the feelings of our common humanity. Let us stand fast together upon the sure ground of the Gospel. Let us not be known as tearing each other asunder, as a split and broken community, but be as a combined army against Satan and all his mighty and untiring soldiers. Let us proclaim by this one act of abjuring and renouncing Caste our common faith in Christ, and our desire to be redeemed by his precious blood, which is far greater and more incomprehensible in its beneficial effects, than the influences of Caste are destructive, inhuman, throat-cutting, and soul-destroying.

V.

ON CASTE IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, BY ONE OF THE EDITORS OF THE "MADRAS CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTOR AND MISSIONARY RECORD."

The next article, from the "Madras Christian Instructor," is from the pen of the Rev. Miron Winslow, A. M., and has a reference especially to the *foregoing* able addresses by the four natives,—Venkataramiah, Rajahgopaul, C. Viswanauthun, and Ettirajooloo, of the Free Church of Scotland.

The following note, in reply to one sent, will show the authority to publish :—

Madras, October 29th, 1846.

My Dear Brother,

You are right ; I am the Author of the Review referred to, and you are perfectly welcome to make *any use* of it *you please*.

It is now about twenty-seven years since you and I commenced our inquiries into the subject of Caste in the province of Jaffnapatam ; since which something has been done to enlighten the public mind ; but much more must be done, to move the churches at home, as well as in India.

I am very glad you are about to attempt it with your usual promptness and energy.

With best wishes and prayers,

Yours very affectionately,
M. Winslow,
Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

To the Rev. J. Roberts.

The independent replies of Venkataramiah, Rajahgopaul, C. Viswanauthun, and Ettirajooloo, afford an able testimony to the effect that *Caste is inseparably connected with Hinduism*—that it *cannot be called a civil distinction*—that the native Free Church brethren regard it as *part and parcel of idolatry, and of all Heathen abominations*—that *the idea of pollution is inseparable, in the Hindu mind, from the system of Caste*—and that *Caste cannot for a moment be compared with the European distinctions in society.*

This testimony is the more valuable, as given by those who are not only well acquainted with the subject, but have *felt* it, having themselves wholly renounced Caste. We hope

that such of our readers as feel interested in the subject, and have not perused the report of the discussion in the "Native Herald," will do so. We do not propose to go at any length into the general subject, but to make a few extracts on two or three leading points, and to offer some remarks *on the existence of Caste in the Christian Church.*

We are to be understood as using the word in its limited and technical sense, as indicating *Hindu Caste,* or what, though adopted by Christians, is similar, and therefore liable to similar objections. Is there Hindu Caste, or what is analogous to it, in the Christian Church?

That Caste exists in the older churches of Southern India, *is acknowledged on all hands.* It is not denied, but gloried in, and contended *for,* as well as contended against. And that it is derived from Hinduism there can be no doubt. Its *name* shows its parentage. It is said, "There are distinctions among Christians in other countries:" granted, but not *such* distinctions; and if any contend that they are equally bad, we, in the first place, deny the assertion, and demand proof; and, secondly, we affirm that if any such were countenanced, the evils of Caste would, on that account, be none the less real. The pernicious customs of one country can never be pleaded as an excuse for those of another. Christianity not only allows, but demands, the proper observance of civil distinctions. It requires servants to be obedient to their masters, subjects to their rulers, disciples to their teachers; and, consequently, recognises gradations of rank; but it does not recognise a radical and unchangeable difference by *birth* between different classes of men, inconsistent with the declaration that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the earth." If Christians, forgetting their common parentage, make distinctions, unauthorised by the Word of God, and bring worldly maxims into the church, which lead to improper respect of persons, shall this mistake be pleaded in excuse of Caste? We again say, In so far as these distinctions are unscriptural, they excuse and can countenance nothing. Sin is sin wherever found. But we wholly repudiate the assumption that there is Caste among European Christians; that true and intelligent followers of Christ allow any distinctions analogous to Caste. The subject is needlessly prejudiced, by assenting to the common remark that there is Caste also among Europeans. There

may be something which resembles Caste, in England and other European countries, with reference to those of noble and ignoble birth and rank: but this refers to them as members of society, and not as members of Christ's body; and is also *essentially different in its nature* from Hindu Caste. The latter is not only a distinction by *birth*, but is founded on the doctrine of an essentially *distinct origin of the different races, which are thus unalterably separated;* and the distiction consists not in anything *physical, intellectual,* or *moral,* but merely *ceremonial,*—in ceremonial purity and defilement. It is the height of absurdity to compare a Soodra and a Brahmin of India, with a commoner and nobleman of England, not only because a commoner may become a nobleman, while the Soodra *never can* be a Brahmin; but because there is no idea of ceremonial defilement from the approach of the commoner to the nobleman, whether in Christian ordinances or in social life. There may not only be personal contact, but they may eat and drink together without any prejudice to the higher from the lower. Here, then, is a most important distinction, which shows the absurdity of calling deference to civil rank the same as observance of Caste. Whenever this deference is introduced into the Christian Church, in opposition to the injunction of the Apostle, "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than himself," and other similar directions in the statute book, let it be chastised. Let all pride be humbled, and if possible annihilated, but let it have its right name; and let not an essentially Heathenish observance—an observance interwoven with Hindu idolatry—take shelter under this general depravity of our nature, and plead indulgence because in other countries, and even among Christians, the Prince and the peasant are not in all respects put upon a level.

We know not how it is, but some have argued as though Hindu Caste was principally *a civil distinction,* an institution mainly for social and political purposes. Surely they might know, if they know anything of Hinduism, that there is no possibility of separating the social and political in the system from the *religious.* The rules of Caste observance are laid down on the *same authority* as that which regulates the idolatrous rites at the temples, and we may as well contend that idol-worship is not Heathenish, as that Caste is not. It has its origin in a lie. The four original Castes are said to have

sprung from different parts of Bramha's body. Is this falsehood, then, to be endorsed for the benefit of the Christian Church? If it be, the Bible must be abjured; for it distinctly contradicts the scriptures; and let it be remembered that Caste is not something extraneous to religion, like civil laws and customs which, though not recognised in the Scriptures, are not opposed to them, and may be superinduced according to circumstances. Caste is strictly a *religious institution*, and civil only so far as it affects social and civil relations. With the Hindu, indeed, nearly every action is regulated by his superstitions, and particularly is this the case in what relates to Caste. Its loss is the loss of *all* religious privileges here, and affects the *future state of being*. How, then, can it be said to be social or civil? In the Institutes of Menu it is stated, "The Brahmin who has a Sudra female for his attendant and concubine or wife, shall be excluded from the society of his ancestors and the gods, and descend into the hell *kaurra*." The Madras memorialists to government on the "Draft Act," expressing the universal belief of their countrymen, enter into an argument and say, "That the loss of Caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion is provable from the fact, that the relations of the party coming under its legal penalty, are bound to consider his degradation as a moral death; in token of which the same ceremonies are by them performed on his account as take place on the celebration of obsequies for the dead." There can be no doubt, therefore, as to Caste being a *religious institution*, or as to its idolatrous bearings.

It will be noticed that these testimonies of the four young men represent Caste as having constant reference to *ceremonial purity* and defilement. Thus, the native Christians will not *degrade* themselves by eating even with their Bishop; and this, forsooth, is maintaining a civil distinction! There is, we opine, little *civil* in this; as little as of civility, unless it be a Heathen civility. Ettirajooloo, it appears, when a Heathen, on going with his friends to a distant temple, was accustomed to resort to the house of a Brahmin for his food. Perhaps our readers may not be aware that this is a common practice for Hindus of good Caste, in order, probably, to avoid all danger of partaking with any of lower Caste than themselves. They submit to the indignity of eating at the house of those who would scorn *to join with them* in the meal, or to

use afterwards even the fruits or sweetmeats set before them; and is this to maintain their civil rank? Is it not evidently that they may steer clear of ceremonial defilement? This is not strange as to the Hindu; but it is passing strange, that native Christians should do the same thing. *Catechists and others have been seen to go for their food to a Heathen Brahmin's house in preference to that of a fellow-Christian of a little lower Caste than themselves; and a native Preacher of the Vellala Caste has been known uniformly* to *decline* taking any refreshment at the house of another *native Preacher of the Fisher Caste, brought up in the same school with him, where they ate together; and solely on the ground of Caste, though they both held the same office.* It must require singular ingenuity to discover any analogy between this and paying respect to rank as among Europeans. It may be said, it is the method of maintaining rank in this country: true, and a very bad method it is, even for the Heathen, being both superstitious and slavish, keeping society in shackles and chains; but, for Christians, wholly inconsistent with that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and that love and union by which all are ONE in their common head.

It is, however, contended by Caste Christians, that they reject the Hindu account of the origin of Caste, and pay no regard to it in that light; but, as the different families and tribes are arranged under its rules, they take their place in society accordingly, and only observe it as a civil distinction; in other words, though it is religious with the Hindu, it is merely civil with the Christian. This, we believe, is the only ground on which Caste is defended, viz., that it is not Hindu Caste.

Perhaps we scarcely need to add to what has been so well expressed on this point in the extracts; but as the controversy turns upon it, we may be allowed even a little repetition. We return, then, for a moment to the question, Is that Caste, which is fostered in the native Church, Hindu Caste? We give it as our decided opinion that it is *substantially* the same. *It has the same name—is regulated by the same conditions as to transmission—is divided and subdivided in the same way—and may be lost by the same means; that is, by ceremonial defilement, and not by a course of immoral conduct. Its rules of conduct are the same. The Caste Christian can have no more intercourse with those below him than the Caste Heathen. He observes the same prohibition as to meats and drinks; he*

cannot have a Pariah servant in his house, cannot take water from the hands of a lower Caste Christian brother, eat with him, drink with him, live with him, or be buried by his side. He cannot partake of food even with his spiritual pastor, if of a less pure Caste; and could not freely associate with the Jewish Prophets or Apostles, were they here, or even with the Lord of glory himself, were he upon the earth. In all these and other important respects it is identical with Heathen Caste. Its leading idea is the same,—to guard against ceremonial pollution, a pollution communicated by *sight, touch, smell*, &c., as among Hindu idolaters. What else can be needed to show its identity? The different classes of natives who embrace Christianity, in connexion with the churches mentioned, retain their distinctive names as Castemen; and their distinctive badges, by wearing the *coodoomy* or tuft of hair on the head, by different methods of putting on their garments, and by sitting on different mats, &c., as well as in avoiding a mutual participation in meats and drinks, interchange of visits, and intermarriages. Not only has sitting apart from each other during public worship in the house of God been introduced, but different Castes have objected to partake from the same cup at the Lord's table; and this, though at Juggernauth all Castes mingle promiscuously when in presence of the idol; and in other temples, where the eyes of the god make all pure, the Brahmins eat publicly before other Castes, as they cannot do in their own houses.

The Romanists have introduced Caste fully; and too many Protestants are in practice not behind them. It is true they have not by this means retained their *full* standing among the Heathen, who consider all that have been baptized to be defiled. Indeed, pure Hindus ridicule the idea of Christians pretending to retain their Caste, and despise them for it; but even Protestants have effectually transferred this degenerate plant of a strange vine into the Lord's heritage. They have held on to their former distinctions, which they have introduced with little or no variations into the Church, leaving the same as a legacy to their children. The Heathen bantling, so long nursed by idolatry, has been adopted by those called Christians, and is carefully cherished as too good to be slain or even left to die.

If, then, our position is correct, and Hindu Caste is in the Christian Church, the fact should be clearly understood; and

it being regarded as a part and parcel of Heathenism, all proper measures should be taken for its exclusion.

We are not without sympathy for our native brethren, exposed to almost every form of temptation, and liable to cruel persecution: we have fellowship in the trials of our brother Missionaries in this as in other parts of their warfare; and are aware that where Caste has been introduced, great wisdom is required to remove the evil. But we cannot, on this account, fold our hands or keep silence, in the hope that this many-headed hydra will change its nature from being baptized, and adopted, and cherished in the Church; or that it will die of repletion, nor yet that cutting off some of its members will destroy it. No, it must be thrust through and through with the sword of the Spirit, and cast forth "upon the open field," "an abhorring unto all flesh."

The position is, we think, sustained, that Hindu Caste, or its likeness, is in the Indian Church. By this we mean that it exists, not privately, not by the fault of individuals only,—as may idolatry or almost any sin, while generally disallowed and discountenanced,—but publicly allowed. This fact, were it properly viewed, could not but have a startling effect on the friends of Missions; especially were it considered that it is not an evil of a day, but of very long standing, even from the earliest introduction of Christianity into this country; and that hitherto the attempts to remove it have effected little more than to modify some of its outward forms, without essentially changing its nature, or destroying its pernicious influence.*

At Tanjore, a few years since, the members of the Church, being required to partake of the Lord's Supper from the same cup, at first managed to have all the Pariahs receive after the Caste Christians; and when they were further pressed to a real renunciation of Caste, rather than conform with the requirements, a large party seceded, and remained for a length of time separated from communion. A most devoted and faithful Missionary was treated by them with the greatest disrespect, while his efforts and anxiety to bring them to a right state of feeling probably contributed to his sudden death in the midst of his exertions.† At Vepery, about the

* It is not more than twenty-three years since such attempts were made.—J. R.

† This refers to my dear friend and fellow-voyager to India, in 1819, whose opinion will be found in p. 26.—J. R.

Vellala, with an educated Chandah were celebrated, Caste, in our small community, went into mourning, as being dethroned and debased.

G——, N——, R——, and, generally speaking, the higher class of our native assistants, have, from time to time, eaten and drunk at our tables. The Rev. C. D——,* who has assumed the European dress and manners, has been, or rather was, for many years a favourite attendant at European feasts and parties.

The former Maningar of B—— was wont, it is said, to eat pork and drink arrack with the descendants of Europeans; but have N—— and J——, G—— and R——, C. D—— and the Maningar, and a host of others, who have pursued a similar course, *lost Caste* or injured their Caste? *Not at all.* The change of public opinion has kept pace with all that has been done in the way of innovation, so that these persons are allowed to take as high a stand on the subject of *Caste*, as though they had done nothing in the way of destroying it. After witnessing this state of things for twenty-eight years, what estimate shall we make of the practice of bringing persons to any *overt acts* as the sure test of the renunciation of Caste? Is it, however, of small importance to bring the native converts to such tests? It is of unspeakable importance whenever and wherever it can be judiciously done.

We think that whatever may be the case in regard to the individuals mentioned, and their reception in certain circles after allowing themselves in anti-Caste practices, it would not be the same in most parts of Southern India.† They would not, generally, be received as Caste persons. In the case of the Clergyman mentioned, as he has assumed the European costume, he may be considered as standing in the same position, as to Caste, with the East Indian community. This would give him, especially as an office-bearer in the church, a certain rank with Christians, but not a Caste rank or privilege; as was proved in the case of another Clergyman, previously mentioned, who associated freely with Europeans, and on whose appearance at a wedding party in Vepery the Caste Christians left the room. It is true he had not assumed the European dress.

To accomplish the abolition of Caste in the native Church, we would suggest—

I. *Union of effort.*—It is an evil of too great a magnitude to be overcome by any irregular and desultory attacks. Missionaries especially, and other Christians as they have opportunities, should aid each other in driving out this common enemy. The means made use of may be defective in many respects, and they may in none accomplish all that could be

* A Clergyman in Ceylon.

† Those persons reside in North Ceylon.

wished; but we should not lessen their efficiency by injudicious animadversions upon them, particularly such as will strengthen the hands of those who uphold Caste. Much more would have been done ere this, had there been less fault-finding, and more zealous co-operation. Examination of any course pursued or proposed is, no doubt, necessary to insure the best being chosen; but it should be made with a proper allowance for the difficulties to be overcome, and a sincere desire to render all practicable aid in a common cause.

II. *Opposition to Caste as a sin.*—So long as it is considered to be simply a *social* evil,—though that evil be acknowledged great,—there is *not* a sufficient motive to strain every nerve against it. There are too many evils requiring attention, to allow this the needed prominence. But as a SIN, like idolatry, it becomes a proper subject of church discipline, as well as of reproof, correction, and instruction. We labour under a great disadvantage, so long as we allow it to be a vexed question, whether adherence to Caste is morally wrong or not. The abettors of it in the church, whatever may be their character or views in upholding it, get much support from many who conscientiously wish only to support the right, but are unsettled whether to regard Hindu Caste as essentially different from rank among Europeans. We have endeavoured—with what success they must judge—to convince such that it is not a *mere civil* distinction, but essentially *superstitious, Heathenish,* and *sinful.* Let this, then, be granted, that the observance of Caste is a sin,—a sin *against God* and *against man,* and a great point will be gained; for then it will be acknowledged that it may and must be attacked, that it can and will be destroyed. If any still doubt whether it *is* sin, let them bring forward their reasons for doubting. They shall be fully examined; but it would not be doing justice to a subject of such importance, to rest in a general idea that Caste is something one could wish different, something in a measure wrong, but yet not perhaps sinful. We know there has been much said of late about constitutional evils, and organic sins; meaning those of the country or society in which one is born, and which he in some sense inherits. But, however convenient it may be for observers of Caste, as it is for slave-holders, to throw off their responsibilities upon society, and excuse themselves for any

moral obliquity by the custom of the country or laws of the land, it may well be doubted whether their plea of not guilty will avail in the court of Heaven.

While national sins must bring down national judgments, the sins of the individuals composing that nation will be visited on their own heads, except they repent. "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished." If by birth and education any are led into a course of conduct which the word of God declares sinful, they only need to be taught that word, and convinced of the sinfulness of that course, to be bound by every obligation to leave it, however great the sacrifice. The standard of right and wrong is immutable as its Author, and cannot be varied to suit our convenience. No doubt there must be opportunity for full instruction, and great allowance must be made for slowness to learn on account of prejudice. The excellent John Newton, so long a most benevolent and faithful Minister of the Gospel, was, for several years after his conversion, personally engaged in the slave-trade. But his mind had not been directed to this subject in a proper light, and he did not see its enormity. When he did, he would not for worlds have continued the traffic. It was *sin*. So let that observance of Caste, which is contrary to the word of God, be tried by that word and condemned; let it *appear* to be sin, and the way will be prepared for its abolition.

III. *Renunciation of Caste should be made requisite to Church Communion.*—If the observance of Caste be sinful, it must, of course, be renounced on coming to the Lord's table. The Apostle says, "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's cup, and the cup of devils." But what shall be the evidence or test of this renunciation? As we have seen above, partaking of the same bread and wine with foreigners and low Caste natives was thought to be an entire relinquishment of Caste; and especially was it so considered, when the lower Caste partook before the higher. But this was done, and Caste retained. It was one of those cases of necessity which change the character of an action. Some other and more decided test seems now to be required.

It is a mistake to suppose that Caste cannot be renounced. *It has been by all who have joined the Mohammedans. There is never a question about it with them!!* It has been rejected by some who have become Christians; they have given abundant

evidence of entire renunciation. There is no doubt on the point. It is well understood by Heathens and Christians. They have, in this respect, become dead to Hinduism. Let there then be suitable tests, and let a sound direction be exercised in applying them. They will be useful to the sincere. They will be *pledges* joyfully redeemed, and made instrumental in bringing others to the same happy renunciation: of leading them, also, to prove the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,—the glorious liberty of the children of God. Any one who has felt the shackles and chains of Caste, and then been brought into this liberty, is prepared to shout a jubilee to his enslaved countrymen; for let it be remembered, however the chains of Caste are hugged, they are heavy and galling. They reduce all, even the highest Castes, to slavery,—a slavery to forms and customs. This must often be felt as a burden too heavy to be borne, when, however faint or feeble, a cup of cold water, or the least refreshment, cannot be taken from one of a lower Caste without danger of utter degradation.

The Brahmin, or any high Caste man, in a government or other office, or the Munshi, who is teaching a European gentleman, though detained for hours, cannot, probably, take even a glass of water without going some distance. And any Hindu, travelling by sea or land, especially the former, must be put to the greatest inconvenience, and often subjected to much suffering, if he would follow the rules of Caste as to his food and drink.

The point to be kept in view is *the real, voluntary, and cheerful relinquishment of Hindu Caste*, or whatever is analogous to it, AS A SIN. It is not the doing away of all distinctions of birth, or office, or wealth, or learning, or rank of any kind; and should not be prejudiced by needless attempts at an amalgamation of all classes in society, or confounding of high and low. There may be much propriety in those of high Caste mingling freely with the low, or with the outcast, for a particular object,—that is, to break down the barriers of Hindu Caste,—and even in intermarrying with them; especially when education and real piety have put the parties on a level; but this should be left to the free choice of those concerned. The thing to be sought is, *not the levelling of all distinctions, but the introducing of those authorized by Christianity, in place of such as are Heathenish.* In doing this, it is

important to remember that it is as necessary to keep the lower Castes—who down almost to the lowest have their own distinctions, of which they are very tenacious—from improper assumptions, and from putting themselves obnoxiously forward.

The native Christians complain of it as a grievance that they are required to disgrace themselves, to renounce their social and civil rights, and to mingle indiscriminately together, so that no distinctions will, by and by, remain between *master* and *servant!* But they well know that this is a perverted statement of what is sought by any judicious opposer of Caste. God is a God of order; and, as already remarked, Christianity allows distinctions, but they must not be such as are opposed to the whole tenor of the Gospel.

A case has lately occurred, which we suppose there is no impropriety in mentioning. An acting head catechist at Vepery, who had, when in connexion with another Mission, renounced Caste, and partaken of food, at different times, with foreigners and *low Caste people,* was invited by some Pariahs of the congregation to a feast. He declined this form of intercourse, on the ground of its affecting his *civil rights,* but offered to accept the invitation, if they, in turn, would come under obligation to accept one from him when he should invite chucklers, totties, and others of still lower Caste. They declined the proposal, as he, of course, expected they would, not being willing thus to give up *their* Caste; and he then considered himself excused from accepting their invitation. His view is, that when formerly or presently partaking in company with Europeans, though with low Caste persons also, his *civil* rank is upheld by the more honourable in the company, so as not to be injured, while he gives evidence of rejecting the idea of *moral pollution,* usually connected with breaking the rules of Caste. He professes, therefore, to have fully renounced Hindu Caste, as connected with ceremonial defilement, and to stand only on a civil distinction; *but he evidently deceives himself.* His acceptance of the invitation of the Pariahs could not be affected, for good or ill, by their consenting or declining to meet at another time those of lower rank. The whole thing was wrong; as it was insincere, and made Hindu Caste differences the rule of civil distinctions among Christians.

We think the Committee, to whose decision the case of the

catechist was referred, and whose resolutions we have seen since this article was sent to press, have taken a right view of the subject:

> The Committee deeply feel that Caste, under any circumstances or modification, cannot be admitted into the church without the expulsion of the Spirit of Christ; and they never can be parties to the degradation and insult which it imposes upon those who, if true Christians, are equally with themselves members of the mystical body of Christ, children of the living God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.
>
> At the same time, they do not wish for a moment to be understood as desiring to confound those distinctions which in the providence of God exist, and are recognised in the Holy Scriptures; nor do they either require or expect that Catechists, or persons in any situation of life, should mix indiscriminately in common intercourse with those who, from a variety of circumstances, are unsuitable companions for them; as from a difference of worldly station, of education, disposition, and moral character; though, when occasion arises, they deem it indispensable that every office of love should be exhibited by all Christians one toward another; and the refusal of this on the plea of Caste (a distinction unknown in any other part of the world) appears to them utterly opposed to, and incompatible with, a profession of Christianity.

We hope that native Christians will no longer attempt to mystify themselves or others by making any modifications of Hindu Caste a measure for social rights, or rule for civil distinctions. It is an unchristian proceeding, which cannot prosper. We are aware, that as the Hindu and Mohammedan laws are administered among natives, the full renunciation of Caste may affect some civil-rights; but the acts of Parliament and the *lex loci* are intended to prevent, and will prevent, most of the suffering on this score; and if not, let it be put cheerfully to the account of suffering for Christ's sake.

The things to be principally insisted on by Missionaries appear to be, to allow no distinctions at the Lord's table, or in the house of God, except such as good order requires; no unwillingness of those who are higher to administer to the wants and comforts of the lower, or in the former to receive the same attentions from the latter;—as, for instance, for any catechist to go as freely to the house of a Pariah as to any other, and to minister to him whether in sickness or in health; or, for a congregation of any class to attend on the preaching of a Pariah, or to receive the ordinances from him when authorized to administer them; and generally in domestic life, and social intercourse, that no distinctions of clean and unclean from contact, from mutual participation of

food and drink, and, in short, no ideas of *ceremonial defilement*, be allowed. For this purpose—not insisting on an intermingling which might interfere with such commands as, "Servants, be obedient to your masters;" and not objecting to distinctions which are really only social or civil—there should be undoubted evidence afforded by *occasional* acts of hospitality, or by a joint participation, at convenient times and places, of food or drink, that *Hindu Caste* is fully discarded, and that the professed disciples of Christ are in truth *one* in Him; that instead of boasting over each other, they keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; and in the same manner as the members of the natural body, whether the eyes, the hands, or the feet, whether in positions more or less honourable, they feel themselves to be all of the body, and rejoicing in their common union to the Head, that they all sympathize in love with every member, in HONOUR PREFERRING ONE ANOTHER.

VI.

FORM OF DECLARATION TO BE MADE BY ANY NATIVE CANDIDATE FOR THE MINISTRY, BEFORE HE IS NOMINATED BY THE COMMITTEE TO THE BISHOP.

The following appropriate Declaration is to be made by all native candidates for the Ministry in the Church Mission, at Madras, before they can be presented by the Committee to the Bishop as fit persons for ordination.

The principles herein propounded are in unison with the Gospel, and well deserve the adoption of all who desire some test, by which the parties concerned are to bind themselves in solemn league and covenant to the Church of Christ.

It is only needful to add, that I have received under date of November 23d, 1846, "*official permission to make what use I please of the Declaration on Caste,*" from the Rev. John Tucker, B.D., who is the senior Clergyman and Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

Believing the system of Hindu Caste to be contrary to the spirit and requirements of the Gospel of Christ, injurious to the souls of those

who adhere to it, and an impediment to the exercise of brotherly love among the members of Christ, and to the spread of the Gospel in this country, because it inculcates the false idea of pollution on account of birth; because it confines a man and his family for ever to the grade in which he was born, and prevents his rising into a higher class of society, whatever may be his character and merits; and because it recognises a combination of individuals assuming authority and power to hinder those who follow out the dictate of conscience, and who wish to enjoy Christian liberty in matters of marriage, food, and social intercourse;—I do, on these grounds, condemn and renounce the system of Caste, and admit it to be the duty of every Christian man heartily to renounce it; and I will, with God's help, discourage it both by my words and example; and I will uphold and assist all those who exercise their Christian liberty in opposition to the system of Caste.

VII.

CONCLUSION.

The reader has now had before him the opinions of those distinguished Prelates in the East, Heber, Turner, Wilson, Corrie, Spencer, and those thirty-three Missionaries, *and others* connected either with the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,—with the Church Missionary Society,—or the London,—the Wesleyan,—the American,—the Baptist,—or Free Church Societies: and we cannot doubt that, in general, suitable impressions have been made.

We have *great difficulties*, but one *(and not the least)* is in the Native Church; for Caste obstructs the progress of love, cripples our efforts, and makes us offensive in the sight of the Heathen. And had Satan sought out for the most efficient hinderance to the progress of Christianity, he could not have chosen any thing more effectual than this tremendous leaven which has been infused into the proceedings of the earliest Missionaries.

But our formidable adversary, whose name is Legion, has now been seen, and is in some degree understood; yet no obstacle where God is concerned, where his promises are involved, can discourage the believer, for he then puts on the "panoply divine." Therefore, we are not in fear lest this

recital of our difficulties should fill with dismay the supporters of Missions; on the contrary, we shall have more prayers and more sympathy, and more of those appliances so needful to carry on the work of the Lord.

Only let the servants of God, of *every name*, go with us to the mercy-seat, let them plead for India; let them believe the promise, "The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it;" and we shall have better days:—"the morning cometh."

THE END.